

With: Booby

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THE
Jesuits Letter
OF
T H A N K S
TO THE
COVENANTERS
IN
SCOTLAND:

For their Compliance in divers Material
Points of Roman Catholick Do-
ctrine and Practice.

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THE
GOVERNMENT

SCOTLAND

THE
GOVERNMENT
OF SCOTLAND

To the COVENANTERS in SCOTLAND.

BRETHREN,

I Do heartily congratulate with you (*most worthy Brethren of the holy League*) and also rejoyce in behalf of our Mother-Church of *Rome*, at your begun return from your former errors and heresies. This puts us in expectation, that shortly your return shall be full: for seeing in so short time, and with so good successe, you have forsaken the former erroneous Doctrine of the *Protestants* concerning the *Civil Magistrate*, and have happily joyned with us, you will also betimes abjure all that yet remaineth. You have so well begun at the *Head*, the *Civil Magistrate*, that we trust you shall embrace the remanent members of our doctrine with a continued successe, whereof you may justly glory.

*Quod fortuna ratum faciat quis dicere falsum
Audeat, & tante suffragia vincere sortis?*

I remember the Salutation that was given to the Scots Protector (who is now our holy Father, *Pope Urbanus*) about the time of his inauguration and consecration to be Pope, *Salve Protector Scotorum*, and of his answer, *Agnosco nomen & omen*: And now he is more ready to protect you, than ever he was, since you draw so near unto him. And yet at your last defection to your King again at the Camp, we feared your revolt to your rejected Protestant doctrine: but this your last Protestation, wherein you recollect your strength, puts us in hope that you will not return to your vomit. Julii, 1639.

And albeit the Anticovenanters think you so near the height of impiety, that they say.

*Nil erit ulterius quid vestris mribus addat
Posteritas.*

Yet we think it is praise worthy, that you are come to such degrees of perfection, that your posterity shall be so far from outstripping you, that they, imitating you, shall take you for their pattern. To them it shall be sufficient glory (seeing they cannot go beyond you) to do the same things which you have done: *eadem capient facientque minores*. And therefore you do most prudently in your *Protestations* defend your Covenanting *without* and

Protest. in
Sepr. 1638.
Reason 5.

against Authority, least acknowledging a fault herein, you should defraud your posterity of the like remedy; or to use your own words, *You shall precondemn also the like laudable course in the like necessity to be taken by the Posterity.* And therefore it is your wisdom to stand to the justification of all your proceedings, and to refuse an act of *Oblivion*, and accept of no less than an act of *Justification*. It is so far from being a fault which you have done in taking the Kings Castles, and thrusting out his other subjects out of their houses, with your other actions, that it is rather a *meritorious work*; and therefore you say well, *We deserve and expect approbation and thanks from his Majesty in his own due time, for keeping his evil Counsellors, and bad Patriots from putting hand in his best subjects.* And in your last Petition to his Majesty, after your assembly, to desire your King to approve of your proceedings, you say, that you are assured of his justification of your actions, and that you are afraid you should be thought to have offended in nothing so much as in lenity.

Protest. 18.
Decem. 1638

The Anticovenanters are no more offended with your writ and printed Books, (which they call infamous Libels and Jesuitical Passquils) than they do please us, not that we delight in your contention; as the *Vulture* in the Apology, beheld the strife of the *Lion* and the *Boar*, to snatch the prey from both parties, but with an assured hope, that within short time you shall become our *fratres fraternimi*, for your writings and actions promise no less; as being most conducive for our ends, and grounded upon our arguments. You shall do us no small pleasure, if you will cause to be drawn up such heads of Doctrine, wherein we do now of late agree, that setting those apart as *not controverted*, we may confer with you in that wherein as yet we *differ*: and in the mean time, as by your diligent perusal of our Books, our strong reasons have prevailed with you, so, I pray you, be instant in reading of them: which I hope shall produce the like effect in that which remaineth. For a preparative to this work, I will thankfully remember, (so far as my weak memory will serve) some points, which by hearing and reading your papers, I find first to be *Ours*, and from us wisely received by you.

- I. First, your dislike of *Monarchical Government* doth please us very well; for we dislike it so much, that (to speak this under the Rose) we cannot simply grant it to the Pope himself, but with such restrictions and limitations, that what we grant him now, we may take it from him the next day to our selves, as I might instance in many particulars; but especially in his *infallibility* and tempo-

ral Power, which we give him with such distinctions and limitations (if you will consider our books) that we intend for *our selves*, that which we give him. But more especially, we agree with you in condemning the *Monarchical Government* of the *civil Magistrate*: for as we say, by that great Pillar of our Church, Cardinal Bellarmine: *Hec gubernatio id requirit, ut sit quidam in re publica summus aliquid Princeps, qui & omnibus imperet, & nulli subjiciatur*, that is, This government requireth this, that there should be indeed in the republick some Prince that is Supreme, both to command all, and be subject to none. For this government hath this great inconvenience, that when the Prince doth wrong his subjects (as you protest your King doth you) there is no remedy but *patience*; for why, all the judges under him are but his *Deputies*, and all the power and authority they have of the *Sword*, is the *Kings*, and it can never stand with sense or reason, that his Majesties *own Power and Authority* can be used against *himself*. And hence it is, that Princes being *Legislators*, are above their Laws, and may dispense with them, as they think expedient. To this purpose sayes the Prince of the Schoolmen, *Princeps non obligator suis legibus, quia nemo sibi imperat, & sibi ipsi legem imponit*; *A Prince is not bound to his own laws, because no man doth command himself, or impose a law on himself*. Tho this seem strange to ignorant men, yet it is most true, and therefore consider it well, for its grounded upon good reason: for the Law is given by a *Superior* to an *Inferiour*, and no man can be *inferiour* to himself, and so can give no Law to himself; and since he can give no Law to himself, none of his Laws can oblige him.

Bellar. de Rom.
Pont. li. 1. ca. 3.

Thom. quest.
93. a. 3.

But what? shall he be an *Exlex*, a lawless man then? I answer with the Schoolmen, in two Aphorismes. I. *Princeps non potest servare legem suam ex affectu obedientiæ, quia nullum agnoscit superiorem in republica: sed tantum ex affectu illius virtutis, in cujus materia collocatur, id quod lege statutum est*: The Prince cannot keep his own Law, out of the affection of obedience, because he acknowledgeth none in the republick to be superior to him: But only he can keep his Law, out of the affection he hath to that virtue, in the matter whereof, that which is ordained by Law, is placed. II. Aphorism. *Princeps tenetur quoad vim directivam, non quoad coactivam, ac proinde tamen peccet contra suam legem, non tamen sit reus pænæ per legem impositæ, quia nemo potest legitime puniri nisi à superiori*. The Prince is bound to his Laws, in so far as they have a vertue to direct him, but not as they have any coactive power. And therefore albeit he transgresse his Lawes, yet he doth not become guilty of the

punishment of the Law, because no man can be punished lawfully but by his *Superiour*. For this cause, that saying of *Cyrellus* is remarkable. *Nemo leges regum impunè reprobat, nisi reges ipsi; in quibus prævaricationis crimen locum non habet. Prudenter enim dictum est, impium esse, qui dixerit regi, Iniquè agis.* No man can reject the Laws of Kings without punishment, but Kings themselves, in whom the crime of their transgression hath no place: for it is wisely said, that he is an ungodly man, who shall say to the King Thou dost wickedly, as this is the judgement of the Fathers and Moderne Divines, so is it the common judgement of all, the Schoolmen, as they say themselves.

Therefore since in Monarchical government, the supreme Prince hath such absolute power, it were well done to change it into a mixt government. If we had suffered the Roman Emperour to remain an *absolute Monarch*, (as you do your King) we had never gotten so much of our wills, and his Holiness the Pope would have been hindered from the fruition of his lawful *supremacy* over Emperors: and if you shall endure this your government, it will be a great impediment to the ends you aim at. For this cause, *regimen temperatum ex Monarchia, Aristocratiâ, & Democratiâ mixtum est*: its a more mild government that is mixt of Monarchy, Aristocracy, and Democracy. You do well then to aim at it, for it is our advice. *Bellarmino* in that same place speaketh home to you. *Præsides provinciarum vel civitatum ne sint regis vicarii, aut annui judices, sed veri principes; qui & imperio summi principis obediant, & interim provinciam vel civitatem suam non tanquam alienam, sed ut propriam moderentur.* Let not the Presidents of Provinces, or Cities be the Kings deputies, or yearly Judges, but let them be true Princes; who may both be obedient to the command of their chief Prince, and in the mean time govern their Province or City, not as it were another mans, but as their own; by this means, both a kind Monarchy, Aristocracy, and Democracy may have place in the republick.

Proceed therefore to the perfecting the good work which you have begun. Consider the power you have had, as absolute Lords over your Tenants, and as *Princes* and *Chiefe* over your *Clans*, every one of you being *little Kings*, like *Dionysius Corinthi*, commanding and ruling your Vassals, as you pleased; but see now how it is abridged by a new form of justice, by introducing of *Justices of peace*, &c. Which (to say the truth) though it tend to the settlement and peace of the Kingdome, yet it mainly opposeth your former

Thom. loc. cit.
Suarez. lib. 3.
cap. 25.
Layman. lib. 2.
De legib. cap. 9.
Decan. cap. 6 de
lege humana.
quest. 11.
Syl. cit. quest.
14.
Vasquez. cit.
cap. 3.

Bellar. de Rom.
Pont. lib. 1. c. 3.

former domineering, and makes your Vassals look more to the King and his Laws, than to you and your commands. It is certain by our well grounded principles, that there is no reason that your King of Scotland should be a more absolute Monarch than the Emperour of Rome; he is not like your King an absolute Prince by succession; but a conditional Prince by election; tyed by such strict conditions, which if he transgress, he may be thrust from them. For first, the Prince Electors may chuse whom they please to be Emperour, by their Imperial Laws. Secondly, the Princes Electors have power to judge and cognosce upon the Emperors fault. Thirdly, if they find him worthy of deposition, they may depose him. And by the Emperor Elect his own consent, it is statute and ordained, that if the Princes Electors, or the whole body of the Kingdome shall withstand, or take arms against the Emperor, it shall be accounted lawful without any crime of rebellion. *Ex sanctione Henrici. 7. & aurea bulla Caroli 4. & capitulatione Cæsarea.* Read this capulation in Melchior Goladayst. tom. 3. pag. 424. which is thus, *Quod si nos ipsi, (inquit Imperator) quod absit, aut quisquam successorum nostrorum, quod non speramus processu temporis aliquo, hanc nostræ institutioni, aut ordinationi contravenire voluerit, aut eam retrahere, aut alio quovis modo violare præsumserit: presentium literarum autoritate, quas mera nostra autoritate, & potestatis regie plenitudine, ex certa nostre Majestatis scientia, nec non cum consensu & bene placito prefatorum sacri Romani imperii principum Electorum, in robur perpetuæ firmitatis sancimus, ex tunc tam ipsi Electores quam ceteri Principes, ecclesiastici & seculares, prælati, comites, barones, nobiles & communitates sacri nostri imperii, universi ac singuli presentes & futuri, licitum habeant sine rebellionis aut infidelitatis crimine, resistendi ac contradicendi nobis, & successoribus nostris, Romanorum regibus, vel imperatoribus, in perpetuam libertatem.*

And I will assure you, his Holiness the Pope was not sleeping when the Emperour was thus clogged: and albeit it may be thought that this change of simple Monarchy in this mixt Government, hath been the chief ground of all this bloody War of Germany this long time by gone, which would not have been if it had remained an absolute Monarchy: for while it so continued an absolute Monarchy in the Primitive Church, their plea was, *Rogamus Cæsar, non pugnamus*: and, *aliter nec debemus, nec possumus resistere.* Yet let not this trouble Us: for herein is fulfill'd the prophecy of Christ, while he said, *He came not to send peace, but the sword.* And again, this change is necessary, for else his

*Ambros. orat.
contra Auxent,*

Ho-

Rom. 13. 1.

Bernard. Epist.

Holiness the Pope should be subject to the Emperour, according to that of *Paul*, *Let every soul be subject to superior powers*: which he neither is nor ought to be. And therefore *Bernard* is herein deceived himself, while he makes this a general rule without exception, saying, *Qui conatur ab hac regula excipere, conatur decipere*: for both *Pope* with us, and *People* with you must be excepted. The Church of God hath suffered too much already in the Primitive times, she hath been too long in the *Category of Passion*, crying with tears, *Oramus, non pugnamus*; she ought now to be in the *predicament of action*, with *Pugnamus & Oramus*, holding (that I may use your own words) a *supplication in the one hand, and a sword in the other*. To this purpose *Master Andrew Ramsay*, Minister of *Edenburge*, said pretty well, that it was Gods will that the Primitive Church should confirm the truth by *suffering*, and that now the truth being confirmed, it is his will that we defend the truth by *action*, in resisting Tyrants; and what war is better than that which is for Religion? But hear an *Anticovenanter* will reply perchance, and say, where did ever any suffer under Tyrants for defending of your *Presbyterial Government* of active or ruling-elders, and of passive or ruled-elders, which had its first beginning from *Calvin* in some sort; but as you have it, it was not in the World till the year 1638. For in *Geneva*: it is onely proper to the *supreme Magistrate* to chuse the *Lay-elders*, for they are onely Commissioners for the *Seigniorie*, neither hath the *Minister* any voice in their Election, much less the *Multitude*: and all that *Calvin* gave them, is *præsse moribus*, and in Church matters they are called *ad consilium*, but not *ad consensum*. But now in *Scotland*, not only the whole Church takes the *supreme power* to it self, but also every Parish takes upon it to be an *absolute independent society*, quite contrary to the practice of *Geneva*, chusing their Ministers and Elders also without number, and to those Elders *equal power* is given with the Minister, in Presbyteries and Assemblies, in giving *decisive sentence* in matters of faith, and deciding of controversies, whercof, God knows, they are most ignorant: and in a word, they want nothing of the power of the Minister, but that they preach not, nor baptise in publick congregations: and yet its common to see *Lay men* among them in private Conventicles to take upon them the calling of a Minister in preaching and praying. Or where did any at any time suffer for abjuring Episcopacy as an antichristian government? so this being a truth never yet confirmed by *suffering*, must not now be defended by *resisting*, according to *Ramsayes* own rule, but being an

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Article of his negative faith, it must first be confirmed by suffering. I would enquire then (sayes the Anticovenanter of *Ramsley*;) if he dare suffer for it, and be the *Protomartyr* in this cause? but he would be like the man that came to the marriage without the wedding garment, *dumb and speecbless*. Or if he speak, it would be negative like his faith, saying with *Athanasius*, *Quod non à parvibus profectum est, sed nuper inventum, quid de eo aliud existimari debeat, quam illu ipsium cujus Paulus mentionem facit*, 1. *Timoth.* 4. 1.

But finding my self digressing, I will return to the point, which I was about, concerning government. Seeing this mixt government is most conduceable for your ends, it were requisite that your Nobles would assume to themselves *Princely Authority* (as is thought some of you have done) and make progress in this good work. For (let me speak it between me and you) till your Kings government be changed, you shall never lawfully resist him. For I have perused all your Divines, and find them all condemning the lawfulness of resisting such a King as yours is: but at the most they hold it lawful in some cases only to resist conventional or conditional Princes. Hence it was that the Ministers of *Wittenberge*, were most opposit to our doctrine of resisting Princes, in their publick sermons, but when they beheld upon what expresse conditions the Emperour was elected to the Empire to the which he was not born, then they said, *Docuimus quidem hactenus nullo modo resistendum esse Magistratui, ignoravimus vero ex legum civilium prescripto, id in certis quibusdam casibus, etiam legitime fieri posse*. We have hitherto taught that the Magistrature by no manner of way ought to be resisted: for we did not know that by the prescript of the civil law, it might in some certain cases be lawfully done. So *Parvus* (as you know) was the last that wrote upon that subject, whose opinion, when it was condemned by your learned Divines; his Son *Philippus Parvus* purposing to defend his Fathers opinion, yields his sword, and giveth over the combat even at the entry in those words, *Loquitur enim D. parens meus, ut & Theologi ceteri juxta cum politicis & jurisconsultis iis, quorum sententiam ac judicium in hoc argumento sequutus est parens noster, non de rege absoluta potestate induto, sed de principibus sub conditione admittis*. That is, my Father, and the rest of the Theologues, Politicians and Jurisconsults, whose sentence and judgement in this argument my Father hath followed, do not speak of a King endued with absolute power, but of Princes, who are conditionally admitted. And therefore if you would make any lawful reluctance for time to come, its most

1 Cor. 7. 2^d.

necessary that you labour for a change of government now, and make your selves free. We have Scripture for us, *But if thou mayest be made free, use it rather.* Claudian did but deceive himself, neither can I endure him, while he saies

*Fallitur egregio quisquis sub principe credit
Servitium: nunquam Libertus gravior extat
Quam sub rege pio.*

Nay, I say, *Quam sub rege meo*, such a King as is mine, so mine, that I may un-make him again, whom I have made mine. Try this at your Parliament, see if your King will yield to this order which I have told you of the Roman Emperour, to *subject* himself to you his Subjects, that the Majesty may reside in you. *Audentes fortuna juvat.* Your success may be gloried of. Your King hath yielded so much unto you, that you may be confident to have this yielded also. If he had been a merciless Tyrant, he had been so far from granting you all your Petitions, that he might have imposed more burthens upon you, who did refuse obedience to that which is judged by all your prime Doctors to be lawfull. Thus those two famous Doctors of yours *Gualter* and *Bullinger* did write in an Epistle sent to the Schismaticks in England, who had opposed themselves, as you do, to the Service-book of England. *If in case (say they) any of the people be perswaded, that those things savour of Popery, let them be taught the contrary, and perfectly instructed therein: and if so be, through the importunate crying out hereupon before the people by some men, many be disquieted; let them beware that do so, that they bring no greater yoke upon their own necks, and provoke Queen Elizabeth her Majesty, and bring many Ministers in such danger, as they cannot rid themselves again.*

I will shew you an example hercof, which fell out in Germany at *Magdeburge*, and within the Territories of *Marques Albertus*. The Prince required the Ministers to follow the whole book of *Augustin's* confession, where is a Liturgy, that hath all that is in yours, which you have condemned; but some more ceremonies, and doth retain the name of the Mass-book. Refusal thereof was made by the Nobility, Gentry, Ministers and Citizens, even as some of all this rank among you have done. The Court hercon ran upon another deliberation, proposing Articles, which do not alter the Doctrine and Liturgy, but thrust upon them more Ceremonies (*which yet howsoever may well enough be born*, says *Melancton*, whom you call the light of Germany) adding withal a threatening, that they, who will not follow this prescription, should depart the Land.

Land. Upon this some too forward Ministers affirmed, *It were good to affright the Court with some terrible writing, with the fear of Sedition, and with this Scar-crow to repress and binder further alteration. Iliricus Flaccius was chief man, the Demetrius in this uproar, crying out as your Ministers did) That rather desolation should be made of the Church: and Princes are to be frighted with terror of Insurrection. But for my part (says Melancton) I will be author of no such sower advice. Whereupon the rest of the Ministers did slander Melancton (as Anticonvancers say you do them) as Popishly affected, and was upon the plot to reduce Popery, and wrote to Calvin to this effect. But truly I am of Beza's opinion, that they accused him without cause, as afterward Calvin knew more truly. For (sayes Beza) at the beginning it was not known with what intention that evil spirit, and whole Troop of the Flaccians rais'd so many tumults, and now at this time doth binder the work of God against Papists. Thus Beza.*

Consil. Melan.
part. 2. pag. 90.
91. 106.

Beza in vita
Calvin, anno
1540.

And it is true indeed, that the Flaccians, who thus did combine against their Prince, did more advance our cause, than Melancton, and the remanent of your Doctors; whose judgement was, that the Church should not be troubled by refusing the Service-book; and (as Melanctons words are) *to wrangle about a Serpents or the like matter; where wise-men will reclaim against us, that we withstand and disobey Authority, and nourish contention with a foolish forwardness.*

Now seeing it hath pleased your King to deal thus with you, to lay no heavy burdens upon you, who have complained of a *light one*: but to grant you all that hitherto you have petitioned; see if you can obtain of him a change of the government. But, I pray you, do it with great prudence and circumspection, laying such grounds, as you may firmly build upon them. For, if at the first you declare your self, and say plainly; Sir, we desire your government changed, he will refuse, and not grant it: and to proceed suddenly from one extremity to another, is difficult. Therefore first of all, by such fair ways as you can, be instant to take from him his *negative voyce* in Synods and Parliaments, which is a thing so essential to Sovereignty, that it standeth and falleth with it. For he being destitute of this Pillar, if in Parliaments by plurality of voyces it be carried, that you will not *have this man to reign over you*, of necessity he must be gone. Secondly, see if you can take from him the *power of making Laws*, and let the Parliament and Synods be the *Law-makers*. You have taken this *de facto*, already in your large protestation, in *Septemb. 1638.* where you say in expresse terms, *that the Parliament and Synod are the Law-makers, and the Law-interpreters.*

interpreters. As you have it *de facto*, see if you can get it *de jure*, established by Law; which if you obtain, you may think you have obtained your end: for, if not the King, but Parliaments and Synods be the *Legislators*, he must be subject to such Laws as it shall please them to make, who are the two *Supreme judicatories*, to which in your protestation you appeal, from the King and his Council: thus subjecting your King to Parliament and Synod, which is a thing that he can hardly suffer. But to please him withal, appoint him to be the *Executioner* of the Laws, and so let him have the name of a King. But it may be, that if he have no more but the execution of your Laws, that he shall rid himself of that too, if you grant no more power; because men will say, He is *not your King, but your officer, or H! &c.* Thirdly, if so be, that he shall be content with what portion of authority you judge sufficient, take heed that he fall not upon you who have thus cumbered him, and execute the laws against you: and therefore to make all cock sure, because he cannot do all by himself, but must have Officers under him: let this be granted to you also, to be *Chusers of his Officers*, and let those be such as you know most expedient for you: and so they shall be rather *your men* than *His*. I heard that all this was motioned by you, but you have not shewn me what success it hath taken.

II.

*Covenanters in-
form for defen-
sive. arg. 3.*

*Bell. de Concil.
lib. 2. cap. 19.*

I have dwelt long upon this necessary point of the change of Government, and therefore I proceed to a second head, wherinto we fully conspire, and it is a very fit preparative to this intended change. And I cannot but applaud you for rejecting that former error, to defend that Kings are of *Divine Institution* and do now hold with us, that they are of *humane Institution by positive Laws*. *In regnis hominum potestas regis est à populo, quia populus facit regem.* In the Kingdome of men, the power of the King is from the people, says *Bellarmino*: and commends *Navar*, *Qui non dubitat affirmare, nunquam populum ita potestatem suam in regem transferre, quin illam sibi in habitu retineat, ut in certis quibusdam casibus etiam * actu recipere potest.* Who doth not doubt to say, that the people did never so transfer their power to the King: but they did retain it *habitually* themselves; so that in certain cases they may *actually* take it from him again. Let all Protestant Doctors condemn this, yet let it never repent you to have received light from us. The best works that ever *Augustine* wrote, were the books of *retractions*; and the best works you can do, is to forsake your errors. You say the *people makes the Magistrate, and maybe without him, and have been many a year without him.* The Majesty doth remain in the people, and therefore

* *Aliàs, actu.*

*Covenanters
inform. for
Defensive.*

*Covenanters
in form for
Defensive.
Sect. 7.
Siegebert in an-
no 1028.*

*Protest. messe
Sept. 1638.*

*Athanasius A
polog. ad Con-
stant.*

our selves of the inferiour. This our conclusion is most consonant to the words and sense of your second and fourth argument for war.

And since you were put to this necessity to take up arms for your defence, notwithstanding of your Kings *specious pretences*, who could condemne you to piets and urge the people, by your reasons to take up arms, to resist the violence of your King, who was *furiously invading you*, as you say? and to thrust all away from their places that did withstand you, as traitors to you, the Church and Countrey, and unworthy of your *society*. I do not regard, neither need you to be offended at that idle speech of *Siegebert*; neither would I hear him, if he did not ask leave of all good men (from which number I will not be excluded) to speak, while he sayes thus, *To speak, with the leave of all good men, this only novelty, I will not say heresie, was not crept into the world (before the dayes of Helldcbrand) that Priests should teach the people, that they owe no subjection to evil Kings, and that although they have sworn fidelity to him, yet they must yield him none; neither may they be counted perjured for holding against their King, but rather he that obeyeth the King is excommunicate, and he that rebelleth against the King is absolved from the blemish of disloyalty and perjury, &c.* Thus he. And is this a matter to be condemned, I pray you? Do we not clearly see this performed among your selves? the King himself will approve of it: for you are confident of it, while you say: *We are very confident of His Majesties approbation to the integrity of our hearts, and peaceableness of our wayes and actions all this time past; and do praist that we will still adhere to our former proceedings mutual defence, &c.* And good reason, for rebellion for such an important business against a King, cannot be disloyalty; and they that have not followed your course, justly deserve *Excommunication* and *Banishment*. *Athanasius* was but too silly a man, being under the tyranny of *Constantius the Arrian Heretick*, that did not incite the people to rebellion, or to promote the designs of the Emperours brother, who was Orthodox, and worthier of the Crown Which if he had done, he might have made a better Apology to the Emperour *Constantius*, who charged him with the same, as if he had stirred up his Brother, and the people against him. If he had done so, he might have made *Peters* Apology, *Its better to obey God than man*. But because he did it not, he makes an Apology most becoming a coward, who did not (as you did) *with counsel and courage lead the people to war against their Prince*: but sayes thus, *Vincat quæso, apud te, veritas: & ne relinquis suspicionem contra universam ecclesiam.*

ecclesiam, quasi talia aut cogitentur aut scribantur à Christianis, & patissimum Episcopis. Let truth, I pray thee, prevaile with thee, and leave not a suspicion against the Catholick Church, as if such things were either thought or written by Christian, and especially by Bishops. *I am not so mad, I am not beside my self, O Emperour, that thou shouldst suspect I had any such thought; I am not so mad, neither have I forgotten the voyce of God, which saith, Curse not the King in thy heart, nor backbite the mighty in the secrets of thy chamber: for the birds of the ayre shall tell it, and the fowls that fly shall betray it.*

This man was too fearful: but you were of another spirit, encouraging the people, and dehorting them from being afraid of shadows; yea, your Priests were good patterns to the rest to follow. There was one of them, who is worthy (if you could permit Images) to have his Statue ingraven in Marble, to eternize him to the worlds end, who went stoutly to the Camp upon his horse, with two Carabins at his Saddle, two Pistols at his side, with a broad Scottish sword; those five weapons were like unto Davids five smoothstones which he took out of the brook to kill Goliath with. This David no doubt would have killed five English at the first encounter with his five deadly weapons, and would have returned with triumph, saying with Paul, *I have fought a good fight:* for, *should such a man as he flie?* But if any shall produce the Canons of divers general Councils, ordaining Clergy men that bear arms to be degraded and put from their place: And that of Davenant, *Christus gladium verbi promittit, non ferri fugam suadet, non pugnam.* Christi promitteth to his Pastors the sword of the word, and not the sword of Iron: he perswades to flie, but not to fight: the answer is easie. Those general Councils tho not *intoto*, yet *pro tanto*, are like your 6 general or national Councils, which you have condemned, because they were against you: and Davenant is a Bishop, and so your adversary.

A thir terror wherewith we were formerly tossed by you, is III. now removed, it concerneth the Church-government, which you at last, being put to it, do acknowledge to belong to the Church, not to the King. What hath he to do there?

Let Kings take care of civil state,

Let Church of Church matters debate.

This was the presumption and error of Henry the 8. King of Bell. de Rom. England, as Bellarmine observeth. *Is enim se caput ecclesie Anglicane constituit, & eodem modo consuit alios principes capita suprema in suis ditionibus esse.* For he made himself Head of the Church, and after the

*Covenenters
of infum for
Defensive
Self. 4.
David D.*

*2 Tim 4. 7.
N. hem. 6. 11.*

*Davenant de
ter. 4. q. 1.*

ten if. 1. ca.

Protest. 18.
Decem. 1638

August contra
litteras Philie
lib. 2. cap. 92.

Idem contra
Greg. lib. 3. cap.
51.

the same manner judged other Princes to be supreme heads with-
in their own Dominions. And thus King Charles would also be:
therefore in your *Protestations*, you declare it is your ancient griev-
ance, *That his Majesty takes upon him, that spiritual power and autho-
rity, which properly belongeth to Christ, as only King and Head of his
King. The ministry and execution whereof is only given to such as bear
Ecclesiastical government of the same.* So that in his Majesties person
some men press to erect a *Papedom*. And all your Protestant Divines
do hold the same doctrine, as so many Court Parasites. The Fa-
thers went too far on this way, I will not name *Augustine*: All men
(saies he) ought to serve God, by common condition, as men: in another
sort by severall gifts and offices, by the which, some do this, some do that.
No private person could command idel: to be banished clean from amongst
men, which was so long before prophesied. Therefore Kings (beside their
duty to serve God common with all men) have in that they be Kings, how
to serve the Lord in such sort, as none can do, which are not Kings; for
in this, Kings as they are Kings serve the Lord (as Godly David en-
joynd them, Psal. 2.) if in their Kingdomes they command that which is
good, and prohibite that which is evil, not in civil affairs only, but also
in matters concerning Divine Religion, &c. This man is so confident
that in his 50. Epistle he cryeth out, *Who being in their right wits
dare alledge the contrary?* But truly the *Donatists* held the better
part, they durst alledge the contrary; so dare *We*, so dare you do:
maxime viri virtute recti. The fathers judgement in such state matters
is not approved by his Holinesse the Pope. *Bellarmino* our trusty
Champion speaketh better for you: That the civil Magistrate *regit ho-
mines, ut homines sunt, & magis ratione corporum quam anima-
rum*: but on the contrary, the Church Governour *regit ho-
mines, ut Christiani sunt, & magis ratione animarum quam
corporum*: ille kalat pro fine temporalem quietem, & salutem populi; iste
vitam & sempiternam felicitatem: ille nititur naturalibus legibus, &
institutiis humanis; iste legibus divinis. The King governeth men
as they are men, and rather in regard of their bodies than their
souls: but the Church Governour governeth men as they are
Christians, and rather in regard of their souls than their bodies.
The end of the one is to procure the temporal quiet and safety of
the people; the other hath for his end, everlasting life and happi-
ness: the one useth natural Laws and humane institutions; but
the other useth Divine Laws.

And whereas your Doctors say, that the King is the Keeper of
the Tables and the Minister of God for our good, and if for our
good.

good, then chiefly for our *principle good*, the good of our souls; to have a care of Religion according to the examples of the religious Kings under the Law, and Christian Princes under the Gospel, &c. Those, and many such like idle arguments are not worthy, that I should stand to answer them, especially in an Epistle; for there is no such need of Kings, *the people may well enough be without them*, for there was none till Cains daies, as you say: The Church was well governed in the Primitive time while there was no Christian King.

Covenanters
informat. for
Defensive. arg.
3.

Ad annos fere 300. nullus fuit in Ecclesia Christianus Princeps secularis. For the space of 300 years there was no secular Christian Prince in the Church, says Bellarmine. And therefore, says he, *Christus Ecclesiam regendam Petro & Episcopis commisit, non Tyberio & ejus*

Bell. de Licit.
cap. 7.

Præfatis: He committed the government of his Church, to Peter and the Bishops, not to Tyberius, the Emperour and his Officers. He said to Peter, *Feed my sheep*; not so to Kings, but, *Do my Prophets no wrong.* The Church-men must give an account to God of mens

souls, Kings have no such account to make, as our Stapleton says well with you: and therefore concludes, that not Kings, but the Church is to be obeyed in Ecclesiastical busineses; according to

that of the Apostle, *Obedite præpositis vestris. Obey them that have the*

Heb. 13. 17.

rule over you, and submit your selves unto them, for they watch for your soul. You do then as it becometh you, not to regard the Kings words, nor obey his Proclamations: but to perswade the people

(that I may use your own words) *to submit themselves obediently*

Covenanters
informat. for
Defensive.

to follow their Leaders, whom God at this time hath largely furnished with counsel and courage for the good of his Church and Kingdome: The reason why they should follow them, and not to be carried away with the Kings Proclamations: *quia potestas civilis subiecta est potestati spirituali quando utraque pars est ejusdem reipub. Christiane.*

A fourth error which you with good success have abolished, that you deny the power of convocating and dismissing of Assemblies to belong to the *Supreme Magistrate.* In the Protestation in

July 1638. you maintain your *power of convocating Assemblies* there-fore in the 27. August 1638. it was well put in among your in-

structions before the Assemblies, *that the ablest man in each Parish*

VIII, Inst. vel.

should be provided to dispute De potestate supremi Magistratus in Ecclesiasticis, præsertim in convocandis Consiliis. Its your wisdom to assemble when he commands you, so long as it is conduible for

your ends; but yet you have power to assemble in a *National As-*

Socrat. in præ-
mio, lib. 5.

sembly, in what place of the Kingdome you please. Socrates did

smell too much of a *Court Parafite*, while he said, we make men-

tion of Emperours throughout this History, for that since they became Christians, Ecclesiastical matters depend on them, and the greatest Synods have been, and yet are called by their appointment. He offended you who said, that as *Moses* is *custos utriusque Tabule*, so is he *custos utriusque Tubæ*: as the civil Magistrate is keeper of both the *Tables*; so he is keeper of both the *silver Trumpets*, for war, for calling of *Assemblies*, and dismissing of them, and that you would but blow the Trumpet of *Sedition*, if (without the Kings authority) you should convocate Assemblies either for peace, or for war.

The *Marquess* of *Hamilton* was too presumptuous, being called with the Kings Authority, to discharge your last Assembly, which (as you said well) was to *raise Christs Court*: and therefore, it was not ill advised by one of you, *that seeing the Marquess was faithful to his Master the King, so you ought to be faithful to your Master the King of Kings, Jesus Christ, and to defend his Royal prerogative above all the Kings of the earth*. In your answer to the *Marquess* of *Hamiltons* Declaration, you affirm, that your *Ecclesiastical jurisdiction* is independent, and in your *Zions Plea*, you say, that your *Presbyterian discipline* is the *Scepter of Christ*, *swaying his own house according to his hearts desire, the soul, the chief Commander in the Camp Royal*; and your *Travers* sayes, *Hinc disciplina omnes orbis Principes & Monarchas fasces suos submittere, & parere necesse est*: There is a necessity that all the Princes and Monarchs should submit their Scepters, and obey this discipline. And your *Mac Lellan* (whom some call a fool) spake not foolishly, while he preached, *that the King had no more to do to meddle with your Assemblies; than you have to meddle with his Parliaments*. It was wisely then done by you, in rejecting any protestation or appellation from your Assembly by the *Bishops*, and their adherents, to the Kings Majesty; for such appellations ought not to be, seeing there is none *Supreme* above your National Assemblies, And therefore, as you have not hitherto regarded their protestation and appellation, but have proceeded against them to *deposition*, and *excommunication*: so continue, and be not dismayed though they should renew their protestations and appellations, even in the words of *Athanasius*, in protesting against, and appealing from the partial counsel of *Tyrus*, which appellation and protestation of *Athanasius*, and the rest of the orthodox Bishops was in these words,

De discip. Ec-
cles. pag. 147.

Athanas. apolog.
cap. 2.

words: *Because we see many things spitefully contrived against us, and much wrong offered the Catholick Church under our names, we be forced to request, that the debating of our matters may be kept for the Princes most excellent person. We cannot bear the drifts and injuries of our enemies; and therefore require the cause to be referred to the most religious and devout Emperour, before whom we shall be suffered to stand in our own defence, and plead the right of the Church, &c.* If those your Bishops flying to the King, as *Athanasius* and the rest of the orthodox Bishops did to the Emperour, shall procure an edict or command from the King, (as those did from the Emperour) to charge you all to appear before him to plead your cause, you ought not to appear as that miserable Synod of *Tyrus* did: The Edict was so preumptory, that they durst not resist. The Edict was in these words: *Your Synod hath decreed I know not what in a tumult and uproar, while you seek to pervert truth by your pestilent disorder for hatred against your fellow Bishops. But the divine Providence will (I doubt not) scatter the mischiefes of your contention, and make it plain in our sight, whether your Assembly had any regard of truth, or not. You must therefore all of you resort hither, to shew the reason of your doings, for so doth it seem good and expedient to me; to which end, I willed this rescript to be sent you, that as many of you as were present at the Councel of Tyrus, without delay repair to the place of our abode, there to give an account how sincerely & soundly you have judged, & that before me, whom your selves shall not deny to be the sincere Minister of God in such cases, &c.*

Ifay then, if you shall receive such a charge from your King, you should not obey; (for in your sense, that is *To betray the Royal prerogative of your King Jesus Christ*) but return the answer of *Core, Dathan and Abiram* with ingemination, *We will not come, we will not come:* or your Lords, Lay-Elders may return that of *Jeremy*, *We are Lords, We will no more come unto thee.* And if your King will not be content with your answer, prosecute your begun course with all diligence and earnestness; having begun in the Spirit, end not in the flesh, but go on with that which they call disorders, till you get the King in your power, and then he shall know what subjects you will be. If the people of one City falling in sedition for matters of Religion, so prevailed and passed all power of resisting, that *Anastasis*

Num. 16. 12,

Jer. 2. 31.

Evag. lib. 3.

the cap. 44.

the Emperour was fain to come to an open place without his *Crown*, and by Heralds to signifie to the People, that he was ready, with a very good will to resign the Empire into their hands: How much more may you, who have many Cities, by continuing your courses, force your King to resign his Crown of *Scotland*? And howbeit the People of that City, seeing the Emperour in so pitifull a Case, were moved with the spectacle and changed their minds, and besought the Emperour to keep his Crown, and promised for their parts to be quiet: yet do not you so, till your King shall perform all your demands.

Hermine.

From that which hath been done by you, and repeated by me, I see other two errors banished, which I conjoynt for brevities sake, lest my Epistle should encrease to a Treatise, viz. That the King is no more to be *President*, nor *Supreme Governour* in causes Ecclesiastical. It is the folly of your Divines, to make the Moderator of your Assemblies to be unto the King, or his *Delegate* in Assemblies, as the *Chancellor* in the Parliament is to the King, or his *Deputy* in Parliaments. But I extoll your courage, who now conclude with us, *Ad Regium officium pertinet, ut legibus & edictis suis, eam fidem teneri, quam sacerdotes tenendam docent, &c.* Its the duty of Kings, by their Laws and Edicts to cause that faith to be kept, which the Priests teach should be kept. For the Spirit of the Prophets is subject to the Prophets. But is Saul also among the Prophets? Is it true that the *Antizovenanter* sayes, that in your Ecclesiastical judicatories called, 1. Sessions, 2. Presbyteries, and 3. Synods, there will be in the first sometimes twelve, sometimes sixteen, in some places four and twenty *Lay-Elders* for one Priest? Secondly, in your Presbyteries, *Lay-Elders* of equal Power and Number? Thirdly, in your Synods as many *Lay-Elders* with their Assessors, as there is Priests; all which *Lay-elders* have as great power in matters of Doctrine and Discipline as the Priests themselves, to judge and pass *Definitive Sentence*, &c. But I trust it is not so, for I hear, that they are offended to be called *Lay-Elders*, and will be called *Ruling-Elders*, and Ecclesiastical persons, and so I doubt not, but they have received Orders from you. And therefore seeing Ecclesiastical persons among you have the managing of Church affairs, the Civil Magistrate must be content to execute what you decree; neither

ought

ought he to judge otherwise than you judge, neither can he hinder you to make Laws in the Church. For, as Stapleton says very learnedly with you, *Over non possunt judicare pastores.* Let the Shepherds judge of the Sheep, who must follow them; as Christs Sheep heard his voice and followed him. Therefore you have most valiantly shaken off that yoke of the Kings *Supremacy* in Causes Ecclesiastical, and at the Cross of Glasgow proclaimed to the world (against the Kings proclamation for raising the Assembly) that *your Assemblies are the Supreme Judicatory in all Causes Ecclesiastical*; and since Supreme, its independent from the King, and your Reason is good: for that which is Superiour cannot be subject to that which is Inferiour. Now (as Bellarmine also says) *Regimen Ecclesiasticum sublimius est Politico.* The Ecclesiastick Government is higher than the Politick: for *Principatus politicus institutus est ab hominibus, & de jure gentium: ac principatum Ecclesiasticus est à solo Deo, & de jure divino.* The Politick government is instituted by Men, and of the Law of Nations: But the Church Government is from God alone, and of Divine institution. 'Therefore you conclude right, that the King hath no more power to appoint Officers in the Church, than you have power to appoint Officers of State for his Court.

In Zions Plea, pag. 289. You answer well to the Protestants objection; thus: If any object the Magistrates interposed authority, it's quickly answered, *That his power is not to weaken any Ordinance of God, but for guarding and making good all Gods Ordinances with the Sword.* And in your Protestation at Edinburgh, 18. December 1638. you bring from your Book of Discipline, a full and perfect description of the Kings authority in Church Matters, which is this, *To assist and maintain the Discipline of the Kirk, and punish them civilly, who will not obey the censures thereof.* And in your answer to the Marquess of Hamilton His Declaration, you say, *That the Supreme Magistrate as a Son of the Kirk, ought to receive the true meaning of the Kirk, and cause it to be received by those whom God hath subjected unto him.* Yea it is so far from being a Prerogative due to the Supreme Magistrate to be Supreme Governour in Causes Ecclesiastical, that it is a favour granted unto him to have any precedency in Synods without voicing, (except he would become a Ruling-Elder, and have a Commission to come.)

Therefore,

Novemb. 29.

1638

Protest in July.

1638. Sept. 2.

You appeal
(from the King
and the Council
to the General Assem-
bly and Parli-
ment,
Bel. de cleri-
ca, cap. 28.

Therefore, it is most remarkable which you say in your Protestation 29 November. 1638. at *Glasgow*. "After 39. National Assemblies of this National Church, where neither the Kings Majesty, nor any in his name was present: At the humble and earnest desire of the Assembly, His Majesty graciously vouchsafed His presence either in His own Royal person, or by a Commissioner, not for voting or multiplying of voices; but as Princes and Emperours of old, in a Princely manner to countenance that meeting, and to preside into it for external order, &c. And this is all that we grant to Emperours and Princes in our Disputes against Protestants. And I pray you, what Royalist can answer the Arguments which you have borrowed from us? all their answer is, that they exclaim that you do borrow your Arguments from your enemies, yet not so great enemies, as they suppose; for the Jesuit is called the Popish Puritan: and the Puritan is called the Protestant Jesuit; and I trust that the like may be said of us, which is said of Christ and *Franciscus*.

Turselin.

*Exue Franciscum tunica, laceroque cucullo
 Qui Franciscus erat, jam tibi Christus erit,
 Francisci exuviis, si qua licet, indue Christum,
 Jam Franciscus erit, qui tibi Christus erat.*

*Ludov. d. ?
 Crægan,*

And we are both by Papists and Protestants (though unjustly) branded with these vile Epithets, to be called *Holy Devils, the Standard bearers of perfidiousness, the Archetypes of Rebellion, the Bellows of Sedition, the Emissaries of the Devil, the Kings evil, and the Incendiaries of the whole world, &c.* and our *Thuan* is so farr out of Love with us, that he sayes our Society is;

*Nata Magistratum convellere, nata ministris
 Subtrahere obsequium, Præsulibusque suum*

But albeit there were some odds between us, what is that to them, since they be good for you? who found fault with him who said,

Mutemus

*Mutemus clypeos, Danaumque insignia nobis
Aptemus. Dolus an virtus quis in hoste requirit?*

Who can blame you while you say, that if Princes shall have such power in Assemblies, and in matters of Religion, then all Religion and Church-government should depend absolutely upon the pleasure of the Prince, and he may change it as he will? So sayes the learned Stapleton in his dispute against the Protestant Doctrine: *Posita hac potestate, nec in una provincia vel regno diu erit fidei unitas vel cultus, & religionis conformitas, quia singuli principes quod ipsis melius videbitur, statuent, quorum decretis si resistatur, perpetua erant bella.* This power being granted to Kings, then Unity of Faith and worship, and conformity of Religion will not remain long in one Province or Kingdome, because every Prince will ordain that which seemeth best in his eyes. To whose decrees if resistance be made, there will follow perpetual War. But this power being granted to the Church, which cannot err in her Synodical acts, there shall ever be Unity of Faith depending upon the Infallibility of Church Assemblies.

For I see in the seventh place, that you do acknowledge the Infallibility of general Councils or Assemblies. For that Assembly which you did hold at Glasgow lately, is to you so Infallible, that long time before, you do profess that you did swear for judgement and practice to adhere to the determination of it: And now of late, July 1. 1639. do protest before God and the World, that you will still adhere to it. And you have good reason so to do: for if general Assemblies may err, then, say we, *Possent merito rescari in dubium omnes damnate hereses, & concilia nullo honore digna essent.* All heresies which are condemned, may again be called in question, and our Assemblies esteemed worthy of no honour. And therefore you may justly fear, upon this ground, that your Assembly might err, and that you may be branded with error in your decrees, and have all called in question again which you have condemned. As for us of Rome, condemn your Assemblies who will, we shall never do it: but rather desire that you may still appoint the same Commissioners for your future Assemblies, therein to confirm all which

Protestat. 18.
Novemb. 1638.

VII.
Novemb. 21.
1638.
Covenanters
informat. for
Defensive. Sect.
Be'l. de autor
concilio. cap. 4.

which they had decreed in the former : for your acts of abjuring *Episcopacy*, the *Articles of Perth*, *Service-book*, *Book of Canons*, pleaseth us very well : howbeit we do not thoroughly approve the reason of your acts. You have thrust away and excommunicated your Bishops, because you think them *Antichristian* : so do we excommunicate your Bishops, because they are *Antichristian*. But you think them *Antichristian*, because you make it an Article of your *Negative Faith*, that they are a part of the *Papish Hierarchy* : And we think them *Antichristian*, because they are not so, neither do they acknowledge the Pope for their Head, but do declaim against him, and the greatest wound that ever we have received, is from such Bishops as they are, as *Cranmer*, *Latimer*, *Ridley*, *Hooper*, *Jewel*, *Bilson*, *Andrewes* αὐτοὶ οὗτοι, *Ilupor mundi*, *Whitgift*, *Babington*, *Abbot*, *King*, *Downam*, *Usher*, *Morton*, *Davenant*, *Montague*, *Hall*, *White*, and that Arch-enemy of yours and ours *Canterbury*, with divers others, whom I like not to recite.

Becande prim.
Reg. Ang. ca. 7.
Jacobi Regis
præfat. monar.

In this particular, King *James* is opposite to us both, because (as *Becanus* well observeth) he holdeth, that Bishops have their Jurisdiction immediately from God, while he saith, *Episcopos esse in Ecclesia debere, tanquam institutionem Apostolicam, ac ordinationem proinde divinam contra Puritanos, contraque Bellarminum semper sensi, qui negat Episcopos à Deo immediate suam jurisdictionem accepisse. Sed nihil mirum, à Puritanis cum stare, cum Jesuitæ nihil aliud quam Puritanopapiste sunt.* I ever thought that Bishops ought to be in the Church, as an Apostolical institution, and therefore a divine ordinance against *Puritans*, and against *Bellarmino*; who deny that Bishops have their Jurisdiction immediately from God; but no marvel that *Bellarmino* takes the *Puritans* part, seeing *Jesuits* are no other thing but *Puritan-papists*. And in that same place, the King sheweth that from a general Council convoked by Christian Princes, for the settling of Religion, he would have *Jesuits* and *Puritans* excluded, whom he calleth by a common Title *noxios*, & *furiosos incendiarios*: and sayes, *Mibi præcipuus labor fuit dejectos Episcopos restituere & Puritanorum anarchiam expugnare.* My chief labour was to restore the Bishops that were cast down, and to overthrow the anarchy of Puritans.

Ibidem.

We thank you also for removing the Articles of *Pevth*; for they were not rightly established: for your Church did esteem those ceremonies to be onely things indifferent, commended and commanded by Authority, for *Decency* and *Order*. The not observation whereof was held no damnable sin, if it were without contempt of Authority, and without the case of scandal, and at the most, your Church did hold that those ceremonies were onely significant, and not operative, as we hold. But if they had been rightly established, you should have observed them as things necessary to salvation, and as parts of Gods worship, which under pain of damnation ought to be performed, and that they are signs operative, working grace in those who observe them. And therefore seeing your Church did not hold this opinion of them, they are not *Popish Ceremonies*, and so not ours; and whatsoever you have more, that is not ours, we request you to abjure it.

The condemning also of the *Service-book* is most acceptable unto us, because it is not our *Masse-book*; and that you may see how much we hate it, Be it known to you, that by vertue of the Popes Bull many years ago, we will suffer no Roman Catholick to go to the Church, so long as the *Service-book* is reading either in *England* or *Ireland*, and yet we will permit them to go to their Sermons, and of all Sermons we sympathize best with yours: So that it seemeth a most unfortunate book, having both us and you for its enemies.

And since I am fallen upon this point, let me relate an History that passed between a *Covenanter* & an *Anticovenanter*, as it was reported to me, concerning this book, that you may make your use of it. "The *Covenanter* demanded the cause, "why he could refuse to joy n with them in a supplication to "his Majesty against the book of *Common Prayer*, seeing there "were so many hands of able Ministers subscribing the same "and obliging themselves to make it good, that it was 1. *Superstitious*. 2. *That it containeth the main essential parts of the Masse*. 3. *That it openeth a door to let in all Popery*? The *Anticovenanter* answered thus, or to this effect: Because such unjust aspersions are cast upon that poor Book, which doth "not contain so many *Lines*, as it doth suffer *Lyes*, hated by "all that love not truth; *Papists* and *Puritans* striving who "shall speak most against it, I shall be so far from becoming "a causeless enemy to it, that I cannot deny it my friendship

D

"and

“and helping hand. But because you are so furious, and I for
 “speaking but one word in its favour have been hotly per-
 “secuted with tongues, and hands too; it will be better to be
 “possessed with a *Lethargie*, than to appear in defence of
 “this *Liturgy*, which the most part, even of the Mini-
 “stry, hath condemned with blind obedience, before they
 “did see or read it. It might be sufficient for me to deny what
 “you peremptorily affirm against it, and its your part to
 “prove the *Affirmative*: and your best *Probation* is your
 “naked *Affertion*, seconded with railing against all that will
 “not believe you. But I pray you hear the Book speak for it
 “self, and it shall purge it self of such Calumnies, in the
 “judgment of all indifferent men; and it will tell you, that
 “you are like *Davids Enemies*, casting iniquity upon it where
 “you find none, and laying to its charge the thing it never
 “knew, and so do hate it without a cause.

I.

First then, here it purgeth it self of all Superstition, at the
 ‘first entry of the Book, where it sheweth the *reasons why*
 ‘some Ceremonies are abolished, and some retained, in plain
 ‘words, saying; *The multitude of Ceremonies are rejected, be-*
 ‘cause of their multitude and superstition. And in the Cele-
 ‘bration of the Holy Communion, it recommends the use
 ‘of common bread. But wherefore? for the avoiding of Su-
 ‘perstition, says the Book; so that at the very entry, the
 ‘Book is most careful to satisfie all scrupulous people, thus
 ‘telling them, that it hates superstition as well as they. Again,
 ‘if there were any thing superstitious in this Book, it must
 ‘be enjoyned as a thing necessary in it self, as unchangeable;
 ‘the not observing of it would be damnable, as the breach of
 ‘Gods Law. To all this the Book answers in the same place,
 ‘that it enjoyneth nothing in that manner, but what the Word
 ‘of God commands. And as for the Ceremonies contained
 ‘in it, it is so far from esteeming them things necessary,
 ‘that it placeth them in the rank of indifferent things. The
 ‘keeping or omitting whereof is but a small thing, says the
 ‘Book: It says further, that those Ceremonies are taken away
 ‘which were most abused, and did burthen mens Consciences
 ‘without cause; and that those which remain, are retained for
 ‘discipline and order. It teils, that they are also changeable,
 ‘and not to be compared to Gods Law, whilst it says of
 ‘them thus, Upon just causes they may be altered and changed,
 ‘and

‘and therefore are not to be esteemed equal with Gods Law.
 ‘What can any man say more against Superstition than is said
 ‘by the Book it self? Therefore, its very likely that they have
 ‘not read the Book, (as I am sure the most part have never
 ‘done) or at least, have read it with an *evileye*, who con-
 ‘demn it of *Superstition*, whereof it is most free.

‘As for the second, that it doth contain the *Essential parts*
 ‘of the *Mafs*, read and see the contrary in the Book it self,
 ‘which doth keep Christs *Institution it self*, and Paul’s *re-*
 ‘*petition of it*, in such sort, that I think no Church can cele-
 ‘brate the Sacrament with more *purity, sincerity, gravity,*
 ‘and none with more *Majesty*, than by this Book. But let me
 ‘speak a little for it: I pray you, Why are you so sparing, you
 ‘may say as well, that it contains the *whole Mafs*, as the *main*
 ‘*essential parts of the Mafs*; for (if you have any Logick, or
 ‘natural reason) you may so conclude; for where that is,
 ‘which is essential to a thing, there the thing it self must be:
 ‘But in this Book (say you) *are the essential parts of the Mafs*,
 ‘what doth hinder then, but that it hath the *Mafs* it self in
 ‘it? for, if it have the main essential parts of the *Mafs*,
 ‘what doth it lack or want? not the *proper accidents*, for
 ‘these do flow from the *essential parts*, and are *inseparable*
 ‘from it. It can want nothing then of the *Mafs*, unless it be
 ‘*some common accidents*, which may be either *present* or *absent*,
 ‘without any hurt of the *subject*. What boldness is this then
 ‘to speak such a main essential lye? Let me either see that the
 ‘Book maintaineth, that *sub speciebus panis & vini*, the Body
 ‘and Blood of Jesus Christ is *bodily offered up* by the Priest, to
 ‘God the Father, a *propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead*,
 ‘or else lay your hand on your mouth, and speak no more.

‘Finally, since it hath neither *Superstition*, nor the *essentials*
 ‘of the *Mafs*, how can it *open a door to Popery*? certainly it is
 ‘purged from all such stuff, and restored to the ancient inte-
 ‘grity, the least thing that might tend to *superstition*, being
 ‘thrust out of door, as *Ammon* did *Tamar*, without hope of re-
 ‘turn: and if any superstition would dare to enter, as the
 ‘*Sodomites* at *Lots* door, *the door is so fast shut* (by that which I
 ‘have told you from the mouth of the Book it self, in the
 ‘beginning of the right use and abuse of Ceremonies) that
 ‘they must despair of any entry.

‘What needs all such uproar then without cause? such

II.

III.

' fearful Schismes, such Dictatorial censures, and uncharitable
' verdicts, that they are all Papists, or Popishly affected, that
' run not with you to mischief? Shew me but one *masculine rea-*
' *son* (and lay aside wives tales) and I shall take it in place of
' many: & *crunt ultimi primi*, I shall redeem my time with re-
' doubling my course, and shall be so far from approving the
' least point, which you shall shew to be Poperie, that for that
' one points sake, it shall get no more pitie than *Samuel* gave to
' *Agag*: I shall rent it in pieces.

' Read over that which you have condemned with judg-
' ment, and not with prejudice, and I shall oblige my self to
' make good those particulars: First, that you shall never be a-
' ble to find any thing in it *contrary to the word of God*. 2. That
' it containeth nothing contrary to the practice of the Primi-
' tive Church, but which is most agreeable thereto. 3. That
' all the points which you condemn, are not controverted be-
' tween our *classical Divines* and *Papists*, but agreed upon on
' both sides, as things not controverted. 4. That there is nothing
' in it contrary to our Confession of Faith in Scotland. Yea,
' which is much, you shall not show me one *Protestant Divine*
' of any note or *eminencie*, even among the *Reformers of Religi-*
' *on*, who ever did condemn this book of the least point of *Po-*
' *pery*: But on the contrary did commend it, and defend it a-
' gainst all petty preachers who refused it, as you do. Learn-
' ed *Bucer* thus affirmeth, *In the Ceremonies of the English Litur-*
' *gy*, I have found nothing which is not taken out of the Word of God,
' or at least, which is repugnant to it, so it be favourably understood.
' Calvin himself perusing the *Liturgy*, declared that he found
' no fault in it at all; and wrote to the *English Exiles at Frank-*
' *ford*, who had made a rent and schisme in the Church, to be mode-
' rate, and return to the Church, *Vos ultra modum rigidos esse no-*
' *lim*. I would not have you stiffe above measure; and bids
' them return to Conformity, and proponeth his own opini-
' on, in *Anglorum controversia moderationem semper tenui, cujus*
' *me non paenitet*. In the controversie of England I have ever
' kept a moderation, whereof I do not repent: and was very
' much offended with those who would not yield in such in-
' different things, for peace sake. It was Calvin with *Peter*
' *Martyr* who by many arguments perswaded Bishop *Heeper* to
' conformity, especially to put on the *Surplice*, which he did. I
' might produce all the rest of those worthy Divines, *Beza*

Melancton,

Bucer Script.
Anglic. in con.
pag. 456.

Calvin epist.
200. fol. 336.

‘ Melancton, Bullinger, Peter Martyr, Gualter, Zanchius, who
 ‘ all of them condemn your opinion & schismatical practice, who
 ‘ had rather rent the body of Christ Jesus, than yield to any
 ‘ thing that doth not content your turbulent lusts: and there-
 ‘ fore your prayers are turned into sin, while you pray the Lord
 ‘ of heaven truly and fully to inform his Majesty how far this book
 ‘ is full of idolatrous superstitions and popish errors, as you affirm
 ‘ in your Protestation against his Majesties Proclamation. And
 ‘ it is no marvel that you condemn this book of Common pray-
 ‘ er, seeing you have condemned your own book of Common
 ‘ Prayer, made at your Reformation. The Ring-leaders of your
 ‘ faction condemn all set prayer whatsoever, all set form of cele-
 ‘ bration of the Sacraments & Marriages. The prayers which
 ‘ were read since the Reformation till this rupture, are now
 ‘ banished the Church, yea your Ring-leaders have banished
 ‘ the Lords Prayer, and say that those who use it make it an I-
 ‘ dol: and therefore in their prayers it is never mentioned, to
 ‘ the great scandal and grief of many poor souls among you,
 ‘ who yet love it, because Christs command is, when you pray,
 ‘ say, Our Father which art in heaven, &c. You baptize, celebrate
 ‘ the Communion, not as you were wont to do, after the form
 ‘ set down unto you at the Reformation: but every day after
 ‘ a diverse form and manner, being changeable like the wind; so
 ‘ do you with Marriage. Thus you differ from your self, like Jana. 1. 8.
 ‘ the double minded man, who is unstable in all his ways; wavering
 ‘ like the waves of the sea, driven with the wind, and tossed. And
 ‘ what pleaseth you to day, displeaseth you to morrow. You
 ‘ do also daily coin new Articles of faith, as to believe Epif-
 ‘ copacy to be Antichristian: and the young Lay-elder govern-
 ‘ ment to be that which Christ hath appointed in his Church.
 ‘ It is an Article of your faith to believe, that to receive the bo-
 ‘ dy and blood of Jesus Christ, in the humble gesture of kneel-
 ‘ ing is Idolatry. It is an Article of your faith, that it is Popery,
 ‘ if the Church set apart a day for the solemn and thankful
 ‘ commemoration of Gods love to the world, who so loved the Galar. 4. 4.
 ‘ world, that when the fulness of time was come, sent forth his
 ‘ Son made of a woman, made under the Law, to redeem them
 ‘ which were under the Law; that we might receive the adoption
 ‘ of Sons. It is an Article of your faith, that it is Popery, if the
 ‘ Church doth set apart a day for the solemn and publick
 ‘ commemoration of the Passion of Christ, that the people may Heb. 12. 2.
 look

'look unto Jesus the Author and Finisher of their Faith, who for
 'the joy that was set before him, endured the Cross, despising the
 'shame. It's an Article of your Faith, that it is Popery to give the
 'Communion on Pasch-day. It's an Article of your Faith, that it
 'is Popery, if the Church appoint a day for the thankful re-
 'membrance of Christs Ascension into Heaven. It's an Article
 'of your Faith, that it's Popery, if the Church appoint a day for
 'the thankful remembrance of the Descent of the Holy Ghost
 'on Whitsunday, to give gifts unto men. It's an Article of your
 'Faith, that the Service book is Popish. It's an Article of your
 'Faith, that the Book of Canons (which directly overthrows
 'the Popish Supremacy) and the High Commission are abjured
 'in your Confession of Faith. It's an Article of your Faith,
 'that it was the intention of those whom you call Blessed Re-
 'formers, that all the forefaids, which you have in your Cove-
 'nant abjured expressly, was abjured by them also, as well as if
 'it had been expressly set down: which is the most ridiculous
 'thing in the world; for *intentio est actus immanens*, which is
 'impossible for any man to know, except it be revealed. And
 'therefore since there is such difference among your selves,
 'every day bringing forth new dreams, since to you some
 'things are sometimes indifferent, sometimes necessary good,
 'sometimes necessary evil, sometimes a matter of Faith, some-
 'times not: I cannot but end this discourse with that of Hi-
 'larius in Application to you: Faith is come now to depend ra-
 'ther on the time, than on the Gospel; our state is dangerous and
 'miserable, that we have now as many Faiths as wills, as many Do-
 'ctrines as manners. Whilst Faiths are either so written as we list,
 'or so understood as we will, we make every year and every month
 'a Faith; and still we seek a Faith, as if there were no Faith.
 'This I would fain know of you, what Faith at length you believe?
 'you have changed so often, that now I know not your Faith. That
 'is happened unto you, which is wont to follow unskilful Buil-
 'ders, ever disliking their own doings, that you still put down
 'that which you are still putting up. You subvert the old with
 'the new, and the new you rent asunder with a new correction:
 'and that which was once corrected, you condemn with a se-
 'cond correction. O wicked men, what a mockery do you make
 'of the Church! only dogs return to their vomit, and you
 'compel the Priests to sup up those things which they have
 'spit forth; and do you command them in their confession to
 'allow

Hilar. lib. 2.
 cont. Constant.

allow that which before they condemned? What Bishops hand have you left innocent? What tongue have you not forced to falsehood? Whose heart hast thou not brought to the condemning of his former opinion? You have subjected all to your will, and to your violence. Thus Hilarius.

And therefore of those your new coyned articles (especially of your abjuring *Episcopacy*, and establishing *Presbyterial discipline*) I may wel say that of *Jerome*. *Plantatio vestra non est vetus, sed novella est; non est de veteri lege, non de Prophetis, non de Apostolis, sed de novis magistris est.* Your plantation is not old, but a novelty, (for it is not three years old) it is not taken out of the old Law, nor from the Prophets, nor from the Apostles, but new masters. And therefore, *adulterum est, impium est, sacrilegum est, quicquid humano furore instituitur, ut dispositio divina videtur.* Whatsoever is established by the fury of man, whereby the divine disposition is violated, is an adulterate, wicked & sacrilegious matter. And I hold that as an undoubted rule of *Augustine*, *Quod universalis tenuit ecclesia, quodq; non Conciliis institutum, sed semper retentum est, non nisi Apostolicâ autoritate traditum rectissime creditur.* Whatsoever the Catholick Church hath holden, & which was not institute by Councils, but ever kept in the Church, that is most rightly believed to be an *Apostolical tradition*: and he brings for instances, those holy days, which your Covenant *abjures*, which hath ever been retained in the Church from the Apostles days. And albeit we could not prove *Episcopacy* from Scripture (as we may very wel prove it, & is proved by those who defend the same) yet this unquestionable rule of *Augustine* will be sufficient to prove it to be of *Apostolical institution*, for you say, it is not of *Divine institution*, and I say, it is not instituted by Councils: and yet all that are but little exercised in antiquity, shall find that *Episcopacy* was ever in the Church from the Apostles days, till this present time that it is called in question. And beside that rule of *Augustine*, consider that it is the *general tradition* of the Catholick Church, that *Episcopacy* hath ever been in it, as an *Apostolical institution*. And by this *general tradition* of the Catholick Church, we are as certain that it is of *Apostolical institution*, as we are certain of the received number of the Canonical books of Scripture: for we receive and take that number upon the continued, general tradition of the

Jerom. in psal.
107.

Cypr. lib. 1. c. 8.

August. lib. 4. de Bapt. cap. 24.

‘the Catholick Church of Christ from age to age. We reject
 ‘& detest *particular traditions* of any *present particular Church*,
 ‘such as those of the Church of *Rome*, if they cannot shew
 ‘those *traditions* to have been *generally* received at *all times*
 ‘in the Catholick Church. But there is no protestant that doth
 ‘not receive *general traditions* of the Catholick Church; such
 ‘as is this, concerning the *definite number* of the books of the
 ‘Canonical Scripture: and if I would assume a schismatical hu-
 ‘mor, I might with as good warrants deny, that there are so
 ‘many books in the *Canon*, as the Catholick Church sayes there
 ‘be; as you deny *Episcopacy* to be of *Apostolical institution*.

VIII.

Thus have I briefly shown you the passages between the
Anticovenant and *Covenant*, which I leave to your con-
 sideration, and return to my purpose. From this sweet har-
 mony in the preceding points, especially of your *independ-*
ent power in Church matters, there followeth another pa-
 rallel by way of consequence, *viz.* that you may excommu-
 nicate your King, if he do not obey the Acts and Constituti-
 ons of your Assemblies. Thus you threatned King *James*, &
 his Council both, with excommunication, if he would not
 execute your Acts of your Assembly; and good reason, seeing
 it is the *supreme judicatory*, and the King is a *son of your*
Church, from whom he ought to take the meaning. And if he
 be refractorie, why may not the Assembly excommunicate
 him, as *Ambrose* did *Theodosius*? And as I have said already
 from your *Travers*, of your government, *Huic disciplina*
omnes Principes, &c. There is a necessity that all Princes & Mo-
 narchs should submit their Scepter, and obey this Discipline.
 Its your chief Commander in the Camp royal. *Thomas Cartwright*
 being asked, whether the King himself might be excommunicated,
 answered, That excommunication should not be exercised upon
 Kings I utterly mislike: and so do we also; yea, albeit they
 be not Hereticks themselves, yet if they do not punish such as
 their Pastors commands them, they may be excommunicate.
Potest ac debet Pastor regibus jubere ut puniant Hæreticos, & nisi
fecerint, etiam cogere per excommunicationem. The Pastor may
 and ought to command Kings to punish Hereticks, & if they do
 it not, even to compel them with excommunication. But espe-
 cially *si sit Hæreticorum vel Schismaticorum fautor, receptor, vel de-*
fensor; if he be a favourer, receiver or defender of Hereticks
 and Schismaticks. If your Bishops be such men, is not this your
 Kings

Fillar. contra
Barklainum.

Azor. in 9. mo.
vol. part. 2. l. 10.
cap. 9.

Kings fault? your fault is, that you use too much lenity, in not ascending from the *Myter* to the *Crown*; for this may stand very well with your Tenent and Ours, though Protestant Divines disclaim it: for your *Buchanan* teacheth you, that not only it is lawful to excommunicate Princes, but that they should both depose him and destroy him; for he says, *Ministers may excommunicate Princes, and he being by excommunication cast into Hell, is not worthy to enjoy any life upon earth.* Buchan. de jur. reg. apud Scot. pag. 70. But truly *Knox* & *Buchanan* are more rigid then we are herein; for howbeit, we grant that it's lawful to excommunicate Kings, yet we hold it not necessary that upon excommunication, either deposition or killing should follow. Indeed by our common Tenent it will follow, that excommunication is an antecedent to deprivation or killing; but we do not hold that deprivation or killing of Princes is a necessary consequent, or effect of excommunication. For (say we) *quando talis effectus adiungitur, non est effectus ipsius excommunicationis, sed specialis poena simul cum excommunicatione imposta.* Suarez de con. sur. disp. 15. tit. 6. When such an effect is joyned to excommunication, its not the effect of it, but a special punishment imposed with it. But its wonderful to see the wide difference between this our Tenent and yours, and that which Protestants hold; for they make the power of the supreme Magistrate *Architectonick*, & subject unto it all power civil & Ecclesiastical. So that, as in civil affairs they use the counsel and help of Politicians & Jurisconsults for establishing of Laws, according to reason; so in Ecclesiastical business, they use the help and advice of learned Divines for establishing religion according to Gods Word, which ought never to depart from their hands. And its most boldly said by them in the words of Bishop *Davenant*, *Reges non ita astringuntur Episcoporum vel Theologorum suorum opinionibus, quin si adversentur legi divina (cujus oportet reges studiosissimos & peritissimos esse) teneantur ex officio regio, veram religionem, illis omnibus licet reclamantibus, tueri, & subditis suis proponere:* Kings are not so tyed to the opinions of their Bishops and Theologues, but if they be contrary to the Law of God, (of the which Kings ought to be great studiers and very well skill'd) they are bound by their *Kingly Office* to defend the true religion, and set it before their Subjects, a be it all those Divines should cry out against it. But those men are *Court Parasites*, as your usual word is; or as *Becanus* calls those that defend the Kings Supremacy, *regios adulatores*, King-flatterers.

Tertul. ad
Scap.

verers. And I admire that *Tertullian*, being under Heathen Emperours, should be guilty of those flatteries, while he says in a Court-like complement, *Reges in solius Dei potestate sunt, a quo sunt secundi, post quem primi, ante omnes, & super omnes Deos & homines*: Kings are only in the power of God, from whom they are second, after whom they are first, before all, and above all gods and men. But I like not to trouble my self with such men, but proceed to another Head.

IX.

Answer to the
Marquess Ha-
milton's De-
claration.

ibidem.

Which is concerning the power of your Discipline in temporal things, wherein is a question, whether our, or your discipline, the *Chief Commander in the Camp-Royal*, have the greatest power. You do learnedly hold, that the Kings High Court of Parliament, cannot hinder you to make *Laws Ecclesiastical*, seeing your *Ecclesiastical Government is independent*. Yea, you do hold, that your Assemblies may repeal and annul, even the Ecclesiastical Laws that are confirmed in Parliament; so that upon your re-calling them, the *Sanction* of the Parliament is nullified, and of no effect. Your own words are Emphatical: *Albeit Acts of General Assemblies be ratified in Parliament, yet a General Assembly may re-call those confirmed Acts, which being annulled, the civil ratification and sanction falls ex consequenti*. Certainly, I dare promise you the Popes blessing for this most learned Thesis; for now a door is opened to let in all Popery, whether the King will or no; so that I trust (as I said at the beginning) our Union shall be full. For since your Assemblies have such power over Parliaments, as to annul all Ecclesiastical Laws confirmed therein (as you have done already with Episcopacy, and the Articles of Perth, which stand ratified and confirmed by divers Acts of Parliament) then it shall be easie for you at any Assembly, when, or where you will, to repeal and annul all the Ecclesiastical Laws ratified and confirmed by Act of Parliament in favour of the Protestant Religion, and to establish new Laws for our Roman Religion in stead of it, though the King, Parliament, and Council should resist you. You have good reason for it; for as *Bellarmino* Bell. de clericis, says, *Habet se potestas Ecclesiastica ad secularem, quomodo spiritus se habet ad carnem, quam regit, moderatur, & aliquando cohibet. Caro autem nullum habet imperium in spiritum, neque illum nulla in re dirigere, vel judicare, vel coercere potest. Sic igitur potestas Ecclesiastica, quae spiritualis est, ac per hoc naturaliter seculari superior, secularem potestatem cum opus est, dirigere, judicare,*

lib. 1. cap. 29.

cara, & coercere potest, ipsam verò à seculari dirigi vel coercere nullà ratione permittitur. The Ecclesiastical Power is to the Secular Power, as the Spirit is to the Flesh; which rules, moderates, and sometimes restrains: But the Flesh hath no command over the Spirit; neither can it direct, or judge, or restrain it in any thing. So then the Ecclesiastical Power, which is spiritual, and therefore naturally superiour to the secular, may direct, judge, and restrain the Secular Power when it is needful. But by no reason is it permitted to be directed or restrained by the Secular Power: and therefore when your King did by his Proclamation discharge your Assembly at Glasgow, which ought to direct him, and not be cohibited or restrained by him, you did well to sit still, and admit divers Acts of Parliament. And in your Protestation against the Kings Proclamation for raising your Assembly, as it was your wisdom not to enter into direct action with his Majesty, so it was your courage, to summon all the Lords of his Majesties Council, who consented to the Proclamation, to appear before the Parliament the 25th of May, 1639. there to be punished for giving the King evil counsel, viz. to raise the Assemblies. When the K. commands one thing by Acts of Parliament, or by his Proclamations, you may protest against the same, and command the contrary in your Protestations, and Acts of Assembly: for as we say well, *penes Ecclesie prepositos facultas est amplissima interdici nobis, ne Reges obedientiâ & obsequio nostro honoremus.* These that are set over us in the Church have a very large power given them, even to interdict us, that we honour not our Kings with our obedience. So the Council of Trent commands all to receive the Decrees, without regard to their Princes consent, and denounceth Excommunication in case of refusal, requires an Oath of Obedience, approveth violence in rooting out of Heresie, and ordains the Inquisition for them. Therefore when the King by his Proclamation did command that the Covenant of K. James, as it was in 1581. year of God, should be subscribed, you by your Authority did prohibit any to subscribe it, but will have your own subscribed for this cause in your General Assembly you have set down an Act discharging subscription to the Covenant, which was subscribed by the Kings Commissioner, and Lords of the Council; which his Majesty, in his Marginal Note, calls a Trayterous Act. You have another excellent Act, discharging all Primers in Scotland to print any thing in Ecclesiastical Affairs without the Warrant of Johnston

Protestat.
Novemb. 29.
1638.

Antor. lib. ad
persecut. Angl.
fol. 318.

your Clerk. You have Acts also concerning *Mills, Salt-pans, and Market-days on Monday and Saturday*: And especially your Assembly hath adnulled his Majesties Court of *High Commission*; all this we see in the *Index* of your Acts, and all is well done, though it encroach upon the *Civil Power*: for in *temporalibus Ecclesiam non solum precipit, dirigit, sed coercet, disponit, virtute potestatis gubernativa*. In temporal things the Church not only commands and directs, but restrains and disposes by vertue of her *Gubernative Power*. And you know we do not maintain a *direct Power* in temporal things, but an *indirect power* in *ordine ad spiritualia*; for we stand not upon words, when we are sure of the *matter itself*, and may bring all *temporality* within the compass of our power. But I pray you, why did you forget to adnul the Acts of Parliament that do ratifie the Kings *Supremacy*, especially in *spiritual things*? Since you have adnulled other Acts of *Parliament*, why have you prejudged your selves so much as to leave those Acts for *Supremacy* uncanceled? If you had remembred the complaint of your holy Brethren in former times, you would not have forgotten this, but as you have *de facto*, taken it away, so *de jure*, you would have declared the same an *unlawful act*: for (as your Predecessors said) If the King have *supreme power* in *Causes Ecclesiastical*, then there is nothing left of the whole ancient form of *Justices and policies* in the *spiritual estate*, but a *naked shadow*.

Odoard West.
in Sanctuar.
juris Pontif.
Sess. 6.

Thomas additi-
on to Holin-
shed, pag. 446.

X.

I go on to a tenth Parallel, which is your *dispensation with oaths*, even with the *Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy*, and with the *Oath of Canonical obedience*. You will not upbraid us again with this, as if we were only *Enemies and Traitors* to Kings: For we dispence with no Subjects *Oath of Allegiance*, so long as they defend the Religion; but if they either fall from the Religion themselves, or will not defend it by the *Civil Sword*, we do absolve Subjects of their *Oath of Allegiance*, as we did in the *Holy League of France*, tying all to us by *Covenant* very like unto yours, and in the end took up Arms against the King; for Kings fall from their Authority, when they fall from their Religion; as you say in your *Covenant*, *The Kings Authority and true Religion are so strictly joyned together, that they stand and fall together*. And therefore you do well to limit your obedience unto him, so long as he *defends the Religion and Laws*; wherein if he fail, by *Oath of Covenant* you have made a *mutual band of defence against him*; so that what is done to the least
of

of you, shall be done to you all in general and particular. And so, if he shall do any harm to the meanest *Kitchin-boy*, you are all in general and particular bound to take his part against your King. Now all this could not be lawfully done, without a *Dispensation* and *Absolution* from your Oath of Allegiance taken long before the Covenant. Our Enemies say, that they who thus being absolved from their *Oath of Allegiance*, do take up Arms against their Prince, will have such success in the end, as *Radulphus* Duke of *Swevia* (whom *Gregory* the seventh absolved from his Oath of Allegiance to *Henry* the fourth the Emperour,) received in battel against the Emperour, and hopes that they shall make the like confession as he did: For he being deadly wounded in the right hand, said to his company, *You see how my right hand is sore of a hurt, it is the hand whereby I swear to my Lord and Master, that I would never annoy him, that I would never lye in ambush to intercept his glory: but the Popes Commands brought me to this, to break my Oath, and usurp an honour which was not due to me. You see what end it is come to, I have received this mortal wound upon the hand that brake this Oath. Let them then who have incited us to do so, consider in what manner they urged us, for fear that we be not brought to the down-fall of damnation, &c.* But be not you troubled, nor afraid of shadows; but let *Unity* be earnestly recommended, as that which strengthens the cause, and will make you invincible. Your success hath been great hitherto, so that you may have confidence for the time to come.

*Helmold in
Chron. Slavon-
rum. cap. 29.*

*Covenanters
Inform. for
Defensive.
Sect. 4. & 2.*

You have also dispensed with the Oath of Canonical Obedience: for I cannot think that you would exact of your Clergy the Oath of your Covenant, except you did first give them a Dispensation for their former Oaths. For all have sworn the Oath of Canonical Obedience, some once, some thrice, and all admitted since the year 1618. had sworn to *Perth's* Articles, and present Government of the Church, and now have taken the direct contradictory Oath, and abjured them all: And therefore it was not ill advised by you, to make an Act in your General Assembly at *Glasgow*, *Novemb. 1638.* declaring the nullity of the Oath exacted by Prelates of Intrants, and of their Bonds of Conformity.

But here I must tell you, that you are gone a little beyond us in your dispensation with the Oath of Allegiance to your King, and taking the Oath of mutual defence against him: for according to our practise, you ought by all means endeavoured to recal him from his Errours, and being obstinate, then to excommunicate him: for as our *Tolet* says well, *Licet sit noto-*

rium crimen principis, non absolvuntur vasalli à juramento (ut bene dicit Cajetanus) ante denunciationem ab Ecclesia: quâ factâ, non solum sunt absoluti ab obedientia, sed tenentur non obedire, nisi forte propter periculum vite, vel damnum honorum temporalium. Albeit the Crime of the Prince be notorious, yet the Vassals are not absolved from their Oath (as Cajetan says well) before the Sentence be denounced by the Church: which being done, they are not only absolved from obedience, but also are bound not to obey, except perchance for danger of their life, or loss of temporal goods: And Emanuel Sa says the same; *Tyrannice gubernans, justè acquisito Dominio non potest spoliari sine publico judicio: latâ vero sententiâ, potest quisque fieri executor. Potest autem deponi à populo etiam qui illi juraverat obedientiam perpetuam, si monitus, non vult corrigi.* A Tyrant that ruleth tyrannically, cannot have his justly acquired Dominion taken from him, without publick judgment: but the sentence being given, any man may be the Executioner, and he may be deposed by the People who have sworn perpetual obedience unto him, if after admonition he will not be amended. And then it followeth clearly which Suarez faith, *Si subditi juramento soluti sunt, quamvis Rex ille prodicionem vocet, omnisque Regni aut Reipublice conspirationem, revera tamen talias non est, sed justa defensio, vel justum bellum, seu supplicium.* If the Subjects be absolved from their Oath, albeit that the King call it Treason, and a Conspiracy of all the Kingdom and Commonwealth, yet certainly, it is no such thing, but a just Defence, or just War, or punishment.

But I must crave your pardon for saying, that you went beyond us; for there are some of us as hot-blooded as your selves. *De fide certum est quemcumque Principem Christianum, si à Religione Catholica deslexerit, & alios advocare voluerit, excidere, statim omni potestate & dignitate, idque ante prolatam Papæ sententiam posseque & debere subditos, si vires habeant, istiusmodi Hæreticum ex hominum Christianorum dominatu ejicere.* It is certainly a matter of Faith, that whatsoever Christian Prince shall depart from the Catholick Religion, and shall withdraw others, doth immediately fall from all power and dignity, even before the Popes Sentence be given; and that the Subjects may, and should (if they have strength) cast forth such an Heretick from the dominion of Christian men. To this purpose your Reformer Know says well; *If Princes be Tyrants against God, and his Truth, their Subjects are free from their Oath of Obedience.* And in his History of Scotland, page 343. he sets the Nobility

Emanuel Sa
in voce Tyrannicus.

Suarez lib. 6.
cap. 3.

Philopat. 2.
pag. 109.

Know to Eng-
land and Scot-
land, fol. 78.

Nobility on work, saying. God hath appointed the Nobility to
 bridle the inordinate appetite of Princes, and in so doing they can-
 not be accused, as resisters of Authority. And again, It is the duty
 of the Nobility to repress the rage and insolency of Princes, and
 then, he conjoyns the Nobility and the people together a-
 gainst the Supreme Magistrate, saying, *The Nobility and Com-* Knox Appeal.
fol. 31.
monality ought to reform Religion, and in that case may remove from ibid. fol. 28. &
30.
honours, and may punish such as God hath condemned, Deut. 12. of
what estate, condition, or honour soever. For as he says well in the
same place, The punishment of such crimes as touch the Majesty of
God, doth not appertain to Kings and chief Rulers only, but also to
the whole body of the people, and to every Member of the same; as
occasion, vocation, and ability shall serve to revenge the injury done
against God. I will not spend time to shew this by your practi-
ces against Queen regent, who did oppose your course, how by
M. Knox and his followers, an Oath of Confederacy was taken: and Knox hist. of
the Church of
Scot. pag. 217.
the Nobility threatened to join with you under the pain of Ex-
communication, pag. 272. Then an imperious Letter was writ-
ten to her Majesty, that if she should hinder their reformation,
** They should be compelled to take the Sword of just defence: and* * Ibid. 265.
protected, that without the reformation which they desired,
they would never be subject to any mortal man. And last of all,
They deposed her Majesty at the Council of our good friend,
M. Knox, by a formal Act penned by M. Knox, and set down in Pag. 378.
his History of the Church of Scotland. And you do well (as
you say in your Covenant) to follow the laydable example of your
Progenitors, as dutiful Children, according to that of the Wise-
man. Hear, ye Children, the instruction of a Father, and attend to Prov. 4. 1.
know understanding: for I give you good Doctrine, forsake you not
my law. And our worthy Father Mariana hath shown you a
ready way, which you, as dutiful Sons, have hitherto diligent-
ly followed. Non dissimulandum esse, expeditam autem maxime, Marian. lib. 6.
& tutam viam esse, si publici conventus facultas detur, communi de reg. cap. 6.
consensu, quid statuendum sit deliberare, fixum rationumque habere pag. 59.
quod communi sententiâ steterit. Monendus imprimis Princeps erit,
atque ad sanitatem revocandus, & c. qui si medicinam respuat, neque
spes ulla sanitatis relinquatur, sententiâ pronunciata, licebit repub-
lica ejus imperium detractare primum. Et quoniam bellum necessario
cencitabitur, ejus defendendi consilia explicare, expedire arma, pecu-
nias in belli sumptus imperare populis: & si res feret, neque aliter se
republica tueri possit, eodem defensionis jure, ac verò priori
auctoritate & propria, principem publicè hostem declaratum FER-
 RO PERIMERE. This is not to be dissembled, that
 it

it is the most expedient and safe way, if a publick meeting may be granted, to deliberate what shall be done by common consent, to hold that as firm and sure, which shall be concluded by common consent. First of all, the Prince is to be admonished, and to be brought to his wits again, &c. If he reject the Medicine, and no hope of his recovery be left, when the Sentence is passed upon him, the Commonwealth may first refuse his command; and because of necessity there will be a stirring up for War, they may unfold their Counsels for defence thereof, and shew that it is expedient to have Armour, and to command the People to advance Moneys for the charge of Wars. And if the matter will suffer, and the Commonwealth cannot otherwise defend it self, with that same right of defence, but with a *better authority*, and peculiar of their own, they may kill the Prince, being declared publickly an Enemy.

You have followed this Counsel so full, that you have practised it to the last comma; yea, till you come to the last two words, FERRO PERIMERE. At which, the *Anticovenant* cries out with a shout, *God save the King, let his soul be bound up in the bundle of life*. Let this Dream of *Ferro Perimere* be to them that hate him, and the interpretation thereof to his Enemies,

* To convene
them from Dan
even to Beer-
sheba.

First of all, you sent from *Edinburgh*, thousands of Letters to all corners of the Kingdom for a *publick convention*; then by the *common consent* of all that appear, your Covenant (made by the chief men of the Confederacy) was *sworn* and *subscribed*, and all of them (bound not to give obedience to the King) but to hold sure and firme, what should be thought *good by common consent*. Your admonitions, supplications and protestations have been multiplied, but all in vain; for, as you say in your protestations, he is so far from acknowledging those things to be *unlawful*, which you have condemned, that in his Proclamations he holdeth the plain *contrary Opinion*; and only doth remove them, as they say, for the hardness of your heart, and to preserve Peace in the Land. And therefore, since he rejects your Medicine, as Poyson, is there any hope of his recovery, that is, that ever he shall be of your *Judgment*?

And as for *lata sententia*, though it be not done *formally*, yet it's done very *materially*, in every Corner of the Kingdom. It's a remarkable Sentence past by one of you, preach-

ing upon some text of the Prophet *Zacharie* (though it may be said, that his Commenter was from 2 *Sam.* 15. 16.) *The Lord hath forsaken our King, and given him over to be led by the Bishops, the blind brood of Antichrist; who are bot Beagles, hunting for the blood of Gods Saints.* And another Preached as well, upon 1 *Cor.* 10. 1. Where he told, that they of the Holy Covenant were like *Israel* at the *Red Sea*, and *Pharaoh* and his Host coming upon them. Another was as forward as any of them, when he compared the King to a wicked *Italian*, who delighted to kill men both in soul and body. Another that he might hinder the people to subscribe the Kings Covenant, preached unto them, *That the Kings offer of the Covenant to them, was like Joabs salutation of Amasa, who took him by the Beard, and said, art thou well my Brother, and then stabbed him in the fifth rib.* And Mr. Cant. (whom for honours sake I name) his Sermon at *Glasgow* is known to all our Society, he prayed to God to take away the Kings Idolatry, and said, *that the dear Saints in England had their Nose and their Ears slit, for the profession of the Gospel.* I might be infinite in this point, but because it is so well known, I spare further instancing.

R. B.

D. E.

H. R.

G. Y.

The next point is *Detractio imperii*, this you have done excellently, by not only refusing obedience to his *Laws Civil* and *Ecclesiastical*, and to his *Proclamations*; but also by continual protesting against him, and exhorting all to stand to the Covenant. You have also kept your counsel of War, provided Armour, laid taxations on the people to defray the charges: and the King is publick hostis declaratus, publicly declared to be your enemy by the Ministry, pressing them to Arms by your learned Informations: and have taken all his Castles and strength from him, and say they are the keys of your own Kingdom, which you will keep your selves. And lastly, you are come so near to *Ferro perimere*, that you have met him with offensive Arms. But I pray you, what made you stand here? what made you make a Period, where was no Comma? Can you think it unlawful to kill a King, and yet set your Musquets Pikes and Canons before the face of a King, and shoot at random? It cannot be, that you have learned *Knox* and *Buchanan* so ill, and you deserve no reward. Let that Golden Sentence of *Buchanan* never be forgotten. Whiles he saies, *It were good that rewards were appointed by the people, for such as should kill Tyrants, as commonly there is for those that have killed either Wolves or Bears, or taken their Whelps.*

Protest. ac
Edenourg. 18.
Decem. 1638.

Buch. de iure
reg. apud Scot.
pag. 40.
Suares. lib. 6.
§. 6.

Your Case was, that which is supposed by Suarez. *Si supponitur Rex aggrediens civitatem ut illum injustè perdat, & cives interficiat, vel quid simile; tunc certè licebit principi resistere, etiam occidendo illum, si aliter fieri non possit defensio, tum quia si pro vita propria hoc licet, multo magis pro communi bono, tum etiam quia civitas ipsa tunc habet justum bellum defensivum, contra injustum invasorem, etiam si proprius sit rex.* If it be supposed that the King is coming against a City, unjustly to destroy it, and to kill the Citizens, or any such like thing, Then certainly, they may resist the Prince, even killing him, if they cannot otherwise defend themselves: both because, if this be lawful to be done for a mans own life, much more for the common good, and also because the City it self hath then a just defensive War against an unjust Invader, albeit he were their own King. This *Theſis* hath been well studied by you, for it is the ground of all your learned arguments for War.

But now since his Majesty is returned back again with his Army, and this first storm is gone without hurt, be not you idle, but labour for some Friends at Court, who may inform you of his Majesties Proceedings. And if you send any to Court, let that be ever one of your instructions, which you gave to the Earl of Dumfermling, and the Lord Lowdon. *To have frequent and sure advertisement to you how affairs go, with their advise, Amen.* And be still upon your guard, and let the Flaccinian counsel take place with you (if you hear that he shall refuse to approve of your proceedings) *to affright him with the terror of insurrection again.* And desire all that are doubtful and scrupulous of this matter to read *Knox History* and *Buchanans*, where they shall find our doctrine very clear. The peoples power is great. *Populus rege est prestantior & melior, &c.* The people are better than the King, and of greater authority. For the people hath the same power over the Kings, that the King hath over any one person. *Populo jus est, ut imperium cui vult deferrat,* the people have power to bestow the Crown at their pleasure: it's not birth-right, nor succession, nor propinquity of blood that must be respected. Therefore *Knox* wrote to *England* and *Scotland*; It's not birth-right only, nor propinquity of blood, that maketh a King lawfully to reign above a people professing *Christ Jesus*. Let his Majesty know that you are no Dunces, but men of learning, who know the greatness of your power, and the smallness of his, notwithstanding of the flattery of Court Parasites.

But

Novemb. 2.
1639.

Sath. de jure
reg. pag. 61.
Idem. pag. 50.

Feb. 77.

But before I end this point, I cannot but admire why you have not continued your Parliament even to the end, but suffered his Majesty to adjourn it; you profess that *you follow the laudable example of your progenitors*, but if you do as they did 1560. you would not grant his Majesty a *Negative voice*, nor suffer the Parliament to be adjourned, but to have done with it as you did with the Assembly at *Glasgow, Novemb. 29. 1638.* to continue it to the end, and then for the fashion to have sought *his Approbation*: for the reason is alike, as your Assemblies are above him in *spiritualibus*, so are your Parliaments in *temporalibus*, and may be holden though there be neither Sword, Scepter nor Crown there. For as *Knox* saith, *those things were rather pompous and glorious vain Ceremonies, than any substantial points of necessity required to any Lawful Parliament.* And therefore after you had kept that Parliament of your own accord in *Anno 1560.* for the fashions sake, you send to the King of France and your Scotch Queen his Wife, to desire them to ratifie the same. But upon their refusal you spake as it became you, of their ratification. *We little regarded it, or yet do regard: for all that we did was rather to shew our dutiful obedience, than to beg of them any strength to our Religion.* If you go not thus far, you come short in following the laudable example of your Progenitors. And yet when I consider the instructions given by the body of the Parliament to the Earl of *Dumfermling*, and the Lord *London*, I perceive that you are not a foot behind your Progenitors, seeing you will not grant it to be in the Kings power to prorogate the Assembly, except you all consent unto it, for your sixth Article of the instructions is thus. *Item, If the King will not condescend to go on presently in Parliament, that the King prorogate the Parliament with consent of the states, according to the conditions which you have.* I see further, that if he prorogate the assembly, it must not only be with your consent, but also he must grant your petition sent to his Majesty by the Earl of *Kinoull* from the Parliament; before you will grant to any peaceable conclusion, or prorogation of the Parliament: for your sole Argument to have your Petition granted is in these words. *Without this point be granted, it is not possible to make a peaceable conclusion, or that they can rest satisfied with the prorogation of the Parliament.* And lest that the people should rest satisfied herewith, and your *Democracie* take no good success, the Ministers would be exhorted to

Knox Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 502.

Idem. p. 500.

Novemb. 2. 1639.

East. dom.
pag. 147.

do their part, not to suffer the people to settle upon their dregs, but to hold them in perpetual motion till it end, to your perpetual quietness. This was the practice of the zealous Ministers your Predecessors in the days of *Queen-Regent*, *Queen Mary*, and in the tender age of *King James*, who did both in private and publick oppose themselves to authority for the maintenance of our Tenents concerning the *Civil Magistracy*, and our other Prerogatives. This made *King James* our common enemy, speak the truth in exceeding harsh terms, while he said, *E ministerio homines nonnulli præcipites, ignei, audaces, in hac humanarum divinarumque rerum confusione, tam gratiosi apud plebem facti sunt, ut degustata dominationis dulcedine, ceperunt Democraticam recipere formam sibi somnare; & primo avæ, deinde matris meæ subversione elati (& nimirum blandiebatur iis successus) postremo populari meæ etate ad Democratiam suæ stabilitatem diu abusi, jam potestatem tribuniciam spe certa devoraverant: ut in populari republica cum plebem, quod vellent, facile circumvenirent, omnium negotiorum momenta soli temperarent. Itaque nulla in meâ populari etate vel post, seditio contigit, quin his homines sui furoris & amentia patronos seditiosi facere conati sunt. Crebræ adversus me in tribunitiis concionibus calumniæ spargebantur, non quod crimen aliquod designassem, sed quia rex eram, quod omni crimine pejus habebatur. Some head-strong, fierce, bold men of the Ministers in this confusion of humane and divine things, became so gracious with the multitude, that having tasted the sweetness of Government, they began to dream to themselves a Democratical form of the Commonwealth. And first being puffed up with the overthrow of my Grand mother: and secondly, of my own Mother, (and truly their success flattered them:) Last of all, having long time abused my tender age for the establishing of their Democracy, they had already by an assured hope fully taken to themselves a tribunitial power; that in a popular Commonwealth, they alone ruled all business of moment, seeing they might easily lead the people, whither they pleased. And therefore no sedition hath hapned either in my tender age or afterward, wherein the seditious did not make those men (the Ministers) the patrons of their fury and madness. There were frequent calumnies scattered abroad in their Tribunitial Sermons against me, not that I had committed any crime, but because I was a King, which was esteemed worse than all crimes. Indeed I find our Father *Becanus* telling the same, that you are enemies to Monarchy, in the example of *Queen Mary*.*

An non Serenissima Maria, Serenissimi Jacobi mater habuit primum temporalem in Scotia? omnino habuit. An non per vos de facio privata est? Nemo dubitat. Had not the most illustrious Queen *Mary*, the Mother of the most excellent King *James*, the Supremacy in Temporal things in Scotland? [for neither you nor we will let them have it in *Spiritual things*] certainly she had it : but did not you deprive her of it? no man doubts of it.

XI.

I will follow out then another parallel, and that is, *De ceca obedientia*, of blind obedience, which we both require now of our people. Your Covenant was mightily called in question, even by the Commons, and yet you forced them to swear, and subscribe it upon your bare word ; telling them, that since the Church-men have sworn and subscribed it themselves, that the Commons ought to do it, *and follow their Leaders, whom God at this time hath largely furnished with courage and counsel, for the good of his Kirk and Kingdom.* I hear, that the things which you have condemned in your General Assembly, were in the judgment of the common people of a contrary nature ; but now, having in their Covenant sworn in judgment and practice, to follow the determination of the first General Assembly that should be kept, they are forced to forsake their own judgment, and embrace the contrary, by virtue of the power of the General Assembly. To this purpose we say: The people are so subject to their Leaders, that if they err in defining any doubt, the people ** vi regimini*, by the force of our Government over them, ought to err. For in this blind obedience, ** requiritur proprii voluntatis & judicii abnegatio, mancipatio & in potestatem superioris deditio.* There is required the denial of our own will and judgment, and a giving our selves over as slaves in the power of our Superiours. To this purpose your *Andrew Cant* (whom I name oft for honours sake) answered, as he was very able to do, to those who would have heard of him some reasons for the subscription of the Covenant, which he so earnestly recommended in *Glasgow*, and never brought a reason for it ; he told them true, that they must deny learning and reason, and help Christ a list. And our ever honoured General, the first founder of our Society, *Ignatius Loyola*, tells us that *Prudentia est imperantis non obedientis*, Wisdom belongeth to the Commander, not to the Obeier : And therefore his Ordinance is this to his followers. *Statuere debetis vobiscum quicquid superior precipit ipsius Dei preceptum esse & voluntatem, atque ut ad credenda quae fides catholica proponit, toto animo assensusque firmitatem*

* Colloq. Rationibus. Sess. 9.
pag. 282 &
288.
* Hist. mal.
pag. 175.

Ignat. Epist. ad
Stat. et obed.

statim incumbitis, sic ad ea facienda quæcunque superior dixerit cæco quodam impetu voluntatis parendæ cupide, sine ullâ prorsus disquisitione feramini; You ought to resolve with your selves that whatsoever your Superiour commands you, is the command and will of God himself. And even as you without delay yeeld with full mind and assent to believe those things which the Catholick faith propones, so you ought to be carryed to the doing of whatsoever your superiour shall say, with a certain blind force of a will, that is desirous to obey. So said your Cant in that same Sermon at Glasgow, while he told the people, to whom he recommended the Covenant, That he was sent to them with a Commission from Christ to bid them subscribe the Covenant, which was Christs contract, and that he himself was come as a wooer to them for the bridegroom, and called upon them to come to be hand-fasted by subscribing that contract. And told them plainly, that he would not depart the town, till he got the names of all, who should refuse to subscribe that contract, of whom he promised to complain to his Master.

XII.

I have yet more matter of congratulation : for, whereas formerly you did hold that Ecclesiastical laws do not bind the conscience, you do well now to maintain the contrary. And therefore you have deservedly deposed, and thrust from amongst you, those ministers, who only offered to suffer your laws bind the outward man, and to conform with you in *practise*, but would not covenant with you, nor swear to be of your judgment. As for example. They promised to sit at the receiving of the Communion, as you do sit on your tail, and thus would conform in *practise* with you, but they requested you not to burden their conscience. to believe sitting only necessary, and that kneeling is Idolatry. The like may be intanc'd in all the rest of the matters controverted amongst you. Since they would therefore conform in *practise*, and only differ in judgment ; why might not you compell them to subscribe the covenant, and make them swear with you before God and the World, that they were convinc'd in their consciences. , of the lawfulness of such things. The Scripture bids compel men to the wedding, neither need you regard them, who call your holy violence a Spanish inquisition.

XIII.

Furthermore, I am confident that you shall not be such enemies to our works of Supererogation, as formerly you have been : For when the King urged you to subscribe the confession of Faith, you refused it, drawing your reason from the very ground, which hath produced

produced all our *Works of Supererogation*, which is this, *That a good word, which is done of a mans own accord, is more excellent then that which is done by command of a Superiour*, as you reason learnedly in your protestation in September 1638. and so conclude, that you have done a more sincere work, and acceptable in covenanting without authority, than if you should do it now at the command of your Superiour : for, (as you say) thus doing, *the more liberty, the less hypocrisie, and more sincerity hath appeared*. If this ground of yours be removed, then both your *Covenant*, and our *Evangelical Counsels* will perish. And yet the *Anticovenanter* will say, that the Scripture calls him the *good servant* that doth his *Masters will* : and whosoever do more than they are commanded by their Masters, get *Affricanus* thanks : *Non amo nimium diligentes*.

XIV.

I thought to have congratulated with you, that you are most like unto us in *Equivocation*; for your own ends, to perswade the people to believe, that which your own heart knoweth to be most false. As for example, to perswade the people before they did subscribe the covenant, that it is for defence of the King, against whom (you say) no man is bound by the covenant to rise up in defensive arms : and that you are only bound to *suffer*, if his Majesty were to invade you. But when they have subscribed, then you tell them that they must provide armour, to *resist* the Kings coming to *invade you*. This made many poor simple men complain, that they were wronged, and that they would at least be *perjured*, if they should do so. Yet the Scripture is plain for such equivocation : for when the army sent by the King of Syria, came to *Dothan* where the Prophet *Elisha* was to fetch him to the King; the Prophet came out to them, and said, *This is not the way, neither is this the City, follow me, and I will bring you to the man whom you seek*. But he led them to *Samaria*, the quite contrary way. But here is the difference between you and the Prophet, that when he had misled them and brought them to *Samaria*, he did not detain them as captives from their Masters, but said, *Set bread and water before them, that they may eat and drink, and go to their Masters*. But you do not so, but keep them in the net, in the which they are taken, that they cannot escape; but must joyn with you against their Master : to whom they shall not return, but with defensive arms; such as are not shield and buckler, but pike, musquet, and canon. I commend your policy herein, for you know, that the King doth not think that the common people did ever aim at the contents and consequences of the Covenant,

2 Kings 6. 19.

Basilic Doron.
pag. 145.

Covenant, and so doth not impute any *disloyalty* unto them : and when he sees that you have them so close tyed unto you, they become your *buckler* and *defensive arms* ; for whose sake he hath spared you, whom he thinks to be heads of a *faction* against him, so that here *multitudo sociorum parit impunitatem criminum*. And to speak the truth, seeing he condemneth your zeal to religion, as if it were rebellion against him; and yet hath given you such way, without curbing your course in the beginning, we cannot but say, that his innate Love to his ancient Kingdom, wherof he hath given plentiful testimonies, hath brought him to this strait, that he hath neglected his Fathers direction, which he was taught by experience, and which King Charles will teach his Son by a double example. The direction was this, *Si ab initio clementiam ostentes, crescet in immensum delinquentium numerus ; crescet tui contemptus : & cum punire voveris major erit fontium quam insontium numerus, nec promptum erit discernere unde facere oporteat initium pœne. Atque ita multos perdes invitus quis tempestivâ paucorum pœnâ servare potuisses. Tu meo ex exemplo potes hic esse cautior, nam ego cum mansuetudine mea instituissem populum trahere ad legum obedientiam ; contrâ accidit, ut omnia plena facta sint tumultibus. Ego verò pro mercede nè grates quidem retulerim*. If at the beginning thou shew clemency, the number of delinquents will greatly increase, and the contempt of thy self will increase : and when thou wilt punish delinquents, the number of the guilty will be more than of the innocent, neither shall it be ready for thee to discern, whereat thou must begin punishment. And so thou shalt destroy many against thy will, which thou mightest save by the timely punishment of a few. In this point thou maist be more warie by my example : For when I had purposed by meekness to draw the people to the obedience of the Laws, the contrary happened ; so that all was filled with uproars. And as for me, I got not so much as thanks for my reward. But go you on, and that you may more and more perswade them to adhere unto you, tell them, as you do, that if they shall come under the Kings power, he will utterly destroy them ; and that his Proclamations and promises are not to be regarded, since in your judgment he hath broken the oath at his Coronation, when he sware to God to defend his truth : but would now, if you did not resist him, destroy the religion, the laws and liberties of this Church and Kingdom, as your Protestations and informations for War do fully shew.

It

It was also a notable Equivocation, whereby you thrust the simple people from subscribing the King's Covenant, commanded by his Majesty to be subscribed, as it was professed in anno 1581. & not according to your new interpretation added unto it. For in 1581, it was a Covenant drawn up at his Majesties special Command, and by his *special Authority* the oath & subscription was prescribed to his Subjects, and so they sware according to the meaning of the King, that was the exacter of this Oath. So that while his Majesty requireth it now to be subscribed, as it was professed then, he doth it in opposition to this present time, wherein you have put a new Commenter upon it, directly contrary to the meaning of King James, who first prescribed it. And it's too evident that Jesuitism and Puritanism were both odious to him, and that it was his chief labour (as he says himself) to hold up that which you are casting down, so that one of you doth not erre, while you call him your Enemy in *superlativo, infestissimus hostis*. But you did hinder this subscription by a most excellent Equivocation, while you say, *That you would be guilty of mocking of God, and take his name in vain: and as we are not to multiply miracles on God's part; so ought we not to multiply oaths and covenants on our part, and thus to play with oaths, as children do with toys.* Thus the people who were with-holden from the Covenant, think that all was true, which you said, not observing that it was an Equivocation; and also a *pia fraus*: for if they had but observed your practice, they would have seen it contrary to this reason of yours; for how oft have you sworn and subscribed your own Covenant? At Edinburgh where you made it, it was sworn and subscribed by you; when you came home to your Parishes, it was reiterated solemnly by you; when you went to other Parishes, you did, as good examples to them, renew it again and again, and thought it no *mocking of God, nor multiplying of oaths, or taking his name in vain.*

Protest. Sept.
1638.

Reas. 2.

But I observe another notable Equivocation, which is so profound in one part of it, that I think we must be your disciples to learn it; while you say, *The swearer is not bound to the meaning of the prescriber of the Oath, nor to his own meaning; but is obliged to the reality rei juratae.* I am sorry that you were put to this strain, to find out this evasion. The truth was (as I perceive) that your affrighting them with *mocking of God, and taking his name in vain*, did not hinder, but many thousands did subscribe

Answer to the
Marquess of
Hamilton's Declaration.

Novemb. Sept.
1638.

after the *Lord Commissioner*, and *Lords of Council*. And this oath being taken, as it was in the 1581. year of God, when King *James* exacted it, it is too evident a consequence, that all that have taken this oath, are so far from abjuring *Episcopacy* and the *Articles of Perth* &c. that by the contrary, they are obliged to defend the same: So that they may say with King *James*, *Mihi precipuus labor est dejectos episcopos restituere, & Peritorum archiam expugnare*. Now, though in your protestation against the subscription of it, you made it one of your reasons why you could not subscribe it: Because it was to be exacted according to the meaning of the exacter, which is King *Charles*, Heir of his Father's opinions, as well as of his Dominions. Yet since it is subscribed by many, according to the meaning of the exacter, you remove that rub, by saying, That they are not bound to swear and subscribe according to the meaning of the prescriber of the oath. This is well, for then, when any taketh an oath, he may swear, not according to the exacters meaning, but according to his own; and so none needs to know what we swear.

But the subscribers will say, we took the oath according to the meaning of the *prescriber*, and both our meanings, both who did exact and take the oath, was, That *Episcopacy* and *Perth* Articles were not abjured. To this you answer, that they are not bound to take it according to either of their meanings, but according to the reality *rei jurate*. If it be so, neither the exacter, nor the taker of the oath did know what they swore and subscribed unto. If this be to swear blind obedience, I approve it; if not, I will be glad to be farther made perfect in equivocating: for I can find no third, but either the oath must be taken according to the meaning of the *exacter*, or of the *taker*.

But I take your meaning to be, That that oath of the *King's Covenant* ought to be taken, as we thought to have done with the *Oath of Allegiance* taken by *Roman Catholics* in *England*. The King with his Council used all the wit and prudence that could be had, to cause them to take the oath without any *Equivocation*, or *mental reservation*, and that they should take no dispensation from the Pope, for taking such an oath: so that in this case, it was made so clear, that both the *prescriber* and the *taker* of the oath could not differ, but be of one mind. But our *Pascenius* did laugh this diligence to scorn, and found out a pretty way to elude such an oath, by telling them, That if the Pope did dissolve that oath, and declare

declare it unlawful, they were no more tied to such an Oath. *U-*
de (inquit) in tanta altaria quanta sit simplicitas, juramentum tot
circumstantiis connexuisse existimabat, ut salvo conscientia, nulla ratione
à quoquam dissolvi possit. Sed videre non potuit, si Pontifex juramen-
tum dissolverit, omnes illius nexur, sive de fidelitate Regi præstandis,
sive de dispensatione non admittenda, pariter dissolutos fore. Inò ali-
ud dicam admirabilius, juramentum si injustum aperte declaratur, ne-
minem obligat, sed ipso facto nullum est. Regis vero juramentum in-
justum esse ab ipso ecclesie pastore sufficienter declaratum est. Vides
jam in fumum abiisse illius obligationem, ut vinculum, quod à tot sa-
pientibus ferreum putabatur, minus sit quàm stramineum. Behold
 (says he) how much simplicity is in so much subtilty; he thought
 to have bound this oath by so many circumstances, that it could
 be dissolved no manner of way by any man with a safe consci-
 ence. But he could not see, that, if the Pope should dissolve this
 oath, all the knots of it, whether it be of fidelity to be performed
 to the King, or of a dispensation not to be admitted, are both a-
 like dissolved. Yea, I will tell another more marvellous thing,
 if it be openly declared that the oath is unjust, it doth oblige no
 man, but by the fact it self it is null. Now this oath of the King
 is sufficiently declared by the pastor of the Church himself to be
 unjust. Now thou seest that the obligation of it is evanished in
 smoak: so that, that bond, which by so many wisemen was
 thought to be strong as iron, is weaker than a rope of straw.

Piscen. Respon.
ad Ep. Monitor.
Jacob. Reg. lit.
 E. 2. 3.

Thus it was with your Covenant; King *Charles* was very care-
 ful to have it subscribed according to his Fathers meaning, who
 did prescribe the oath *anno 1581*, and his own meaning, which
 was the same with his Father's, who approved *Episcopacy* and
Perth's Articles. So that all equivocation is here excluded: But
 (this *Pascenius's* trick makes all clear) if *Dickson* or *Henderson*, &c.
 shall dissolve this oath, and declare it unlawful, it hath no force,
 as being not according to the *reality* of the things themselves:
 and thus, are none more tied to the King by Covenant, but may
 break it as easily as *Sampson* did his cords, and must run your
 course against his Majesty. I might insist on many instances to
 prove Equivocation amongst you, if it were needful, but I am con-
 fident you shall not be such enemies to it in time to come.

Moreover, your *pia fraudes* have not a little advanced your
 courses; for though the general cause of all this uproar was pre-
 tended to be for defence of Religion, Laws and Liberties, yet (to

XV.

speak under the Rose) it flowed from private causes and respects: for (not to speak of the contempt of Monarchy, nor of private fretting again Sovereignty by malecontents) the course his Majesty was taking with the tythes, to deliver the ministry, and manner sort of the Laity from that which was counted bondage and slavery, made many fret to see themselves robbed of that clientely and dependence of the Clergy and Laity, and of that power, command & superiority, which by the tye of tyths they did enjoy. Some had their private quarrels against the Bishops, many could not abide to see them, preferred to be on his Majesties Council, &c. And a great hatred was working against them, for being the chief instruments that the Ministers maintenance was augmented, and many of the Tythes restored back again, which made many think that in the end all the Tythes, and Church-lands would return to the ancient owner, whereby many would be brought to a poor estate, if the Tythes were taken from them, and some who have made Churches their habitation, would not have a dwelling place at all: and some others being ambitious of preferment both in Church and Policy, were no small causes of all this uproar. Now howbeit, from those and such like other motives, this disorder hath come: yet it's well dissembled by you; in taking this opportunity, to work your private intended ends; by making the multitude believe that all is for defence of Religion, Laws and liberties: which otherwise would be destroyed.

His Holiness our Pope, did never laugh more heartily, than when it was told him, that you made the people believe that the Book of Common-Prayer was penned at Rome, and sent to the King, and that it was nothing but the Mass turned into *English*; and that the King was a Papiſt, and intended to change the Religion. That your Bishops were Pensioners to the Pope, and that all, who would not subscribe your covenant, are Papiſts; truly he commended your Policy, to catch Children with wiles, and men with lies. The aspersions you have cast upon King, Bishops, and Anticovenanters will make you noble. It's a good policy still to complain of Court and State, and to prie into great mens lives, to pick out some fault, and to make faults where we find none: still with *Abſalom* saying, The men who have good and right causes, have no man to hear them, *Oh that I were made Judge in the Land; that every man which hath any ſuit or cause, might come unto me, and I would do him justice.* Thus the silly multitude

multitude will lightly apprehend that you are blameless, who do so narrowly try and cry out against the faults of others, whom howbeit you do not wound, yet in the vulgar opinion you do greatly stain and blot them.

Finally, we have both suffered much of our enemies for our *prudence against Kings and Princes*, in cutting them away that are enemies to the religion. We need not be ashamed to confess, that the *armour* wherewith such Kings are killed, are forged in *our shop*: you know what *Hacket* and *Coppinger*, who wrote to *Scotland* to *James Gibson*, that he with the advice of the brethren, might tell their opinion concerning the spirit that moved them, and the act that they had in hand to be done, for the delivery of *J. Cartwright* out of Prison, and killing of all their withstanders. That which *Raviliac* did *efficit*, was no more praise-worthy than that which they did *afficit*; all those our works are not to be accounted points of *Treason*, but onely *sensible expressions* of our Heroical Zeal to the defence of Religion, which ought to be more dear to us, than Kings or Princes, Father or Mother, brother or sister, all those cords must be broke, and bonds cast from us, when we see them to set themselves to take counsel against the Lord's Anointed. Such men of courage who put their life in their hand, and cut off such wicked men, ought to be so farr from being counted Traitors, that they should be rewarded for doing it, as your *Buchanan* sayes. *Knox* in his History of *Scotland* commends the privie Murdering of the Cardinal of *S. Andrews* perpetrated by *Norman Lesley*, Son to the Earl of *Rothfey*, and *James Melvin* calls it a godly fact, and proposes it as an example to be followed by the posterity.

XVI.

In your *Zions Plea*, and other papers, you speak excellently of *Du. Buck.* that Heroical fact of *Felton* your Martyr, and pathetically exhort the Nobles of the Land to follow his footsteps, saying, *God hath chalked out the way unto you, God having offered himself to guide you by the hand, in giving this first blow, will you not follow home? The sprinkling of the blood of the wolf, if we can follow the Lord in it, may prove a means to save us. The Counsel of Hushai to Absalom sorteth well with this business, that all Israel should be gathered from Dan to Beertheba, as the sand on the Sea in number, who may with the ropes of their Prayers, joyned to the power of your hands, draw the City of their Babel into the River of destruction, until there be not one small stone found.*

You have most zealously embraced this profitable exhortations, and

and albeit your intended work took but small success, yet let not this interruption bequench your zeal, nor cause your heroical spirits to fail, but be forward in this cause, and let all your words be spoken by Talents, that authority may see that you do not fear it. Let our example encourage you and your example encourage us, It was to this purpose manfully said by one of you. *Our zeal to God's glory, our love to his Church, and the due planting of the same, in this boreheaded age, should be so warm, and stirring in us, as not to care what adventures, we give, and what censure we abide, &c. The Jesuits and Seminarists, their diabolical boldnesse (he wrongs us in his epithet seeing he followes our way) will cover our faces with shame.*

Its true indeed, so long as we are not able to resist, and make our party good by strength of hand, there is a necessity that we must suffer, and like the poor man *we must use entreaty*: for its our wisdom to consider the times, when we may be forward, and when not. Hence it was that in the days of Queen Elizabeth, when your power was little, that your answer was humble: for when the State and Clergie of England charged your sort of men with *faction, sedition and schism*, and judged that if you were not curbed betimes, you would bring *desolation* on Church and policie: your answer was mild (though it might seem to your adversaries mixt with passion, pride and Hypocritie, while you said; *Peace was by those men kept inviolate; for which of them ever dealt disorderly, or tumultuously? who ever of them in word or deed gave out any just suspicion of unpeaceable dealing? nay have they not in their ministry, in their examples, striven for peace more then any?* For this cause (as your Buchan. well observeth. with us) Paul writing to the Romans sayes, *Let every soul be subject to superior powers.* Paul (saies he) *writes this in the infancy of the Church, there were but few Christians then, not many of them rich, or of ability, so as they were not ripe for such a purpose; as if a man should write to such Christians as are under the Turk in substance poor, in courage feeble, in strength unarmed, in number few, and generally subject to all kind of Injuries: would he not write as Paul did?* So as the Apostle did respect the men he wrote unto, and his words are not to be extended to the body, or people of a Common-wealth, or whole city. And he tells us in this case, if Paul were alive and did see wicked Kings reigning in Christian Common-wealths, Paul would say, *That he accounted no such for Magistrates, he would forbid all men for speaking unto them, and from keeping them Company: he would leave them to their subjects to be punished: neither would he blame them, if*

they

Payne epist.
to 1^r.

Praeface of
Prelates.

Buch. de jure
Reg. pag. 50.
Ibid. pag. 55.

Ibid. pag. 57.

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priscis temporibus minus factum sit, causa est, quia deerant vires Such a King by the consent of all may, yea ought to be deprived of his dominion: if this in old times was not done, the cause was, because they had no strength.

But now the times are changed. *Hec atq; alios mores postulat,* this age requireth other manners spare not big words, *tell the head its sick, press the people to arms too, strike the Basilisk Vein, since nothing but that will cure the pleurisie of your estate.* Your strength is great, yea so great that you profess your selves invincible, *if you keep unity and verity,* that is the Doctrine which I congratulate. Covenanters inform for Defensive. sect. 2.

Certainly, you have an invincible General, your head *Lesly*. And as there is great union between us in doctrine and practices: so I perceive a great similitude between both our Generals. our *Ignatius Loyola*, and your *Lesly*. As for their birth, I cannot compare them, for neither *Maphaus*, nor *Ribadeneira*, nor *Valderana*, nor *Becanus*, nor any that writes his life, tells us, who were his Parents; so that it seems *Pater Ignatii fuit dubii generis & mater communis generis.* As for his life, we deny not the truth, for as our own writers say of his childhood, *satis constat enim in pueritiâ, profanos admodum hausse spiritus*; it is certain, that in his childhood he drew in very prophane spirits: and in *adolescenciâ, militiæ ac vanitati sese dedit.* In his Youth, he gave himself to Wars and vanity, Maphaus in Vita Ignat. lib. 1. cap. 2.
 being ready to serve any man for his pay, so that our *Ribadeneira* *Ignat. lib. 1. c. 7.* calleth him *Vanitatis vile mancipium*, A vile slave of vanity.

But at *Pompeopolis* being couragiously fighting, his leg was sore wounded, and it was good for him: for *accepto hoc luculento vulnere, ad Deum conversus est.* Having gotten this great wound, he was converted to God, and his leg was amended; but yet, *nonnihil claudicavit, sed honestè, & quod ambulandi moderatione tegere-* Becan.
tur: He halted a little, but decently, and which he might hide by the moderation of his walking, and become the founder and general of our holy Society. All this hath hapned to your General, in his child-hood, youth-hood, in his wound, in his halting, in his conversion, and becoming General of your holy Society. But from the halting of both our Generals, the *Anticovenanters* draw an ominous conclusion, that we are like *Israel* in the days of *Elias*, *halting between God and Baal, and running crooked courses.* But notwithstanding of our haling, they shall find that we

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But at Pompeiopolis being couragiously fighting, his leg was sore wounded, and it was good for him: for *accepto hoc luculento vulnere, ad Deum conversus est.* Having gotten this great wound, he was converted to God, and his leg was amended; but yet, *non-nihil claudicavit, sed honestè, & quod ambulandi moderatione regeretur*: He halted a little, but decently, and which he might hide by the moderation of his walking, and become the founder and general of our holy Society. All this hath hapned to your General, in his child-hood, youth-hood, in his wound, in his halting, in his conversion, and becoming General of your holy Society. But from the halting of both our Generals, the Anticovenanters draw an ominous conclusion, that we are like Israel in the dayes of Elias, halting between God and Baal, and running crooked courses. But notwithstanding of our halting, they shall find that we

can run, and give them matter enough to work on. They have so sensibly found it so, in our General *Ignatius*, that all in our Church, who are not of our order, wish that he had never been hurt in War, that so he might have there remained, and never turned home, where in peace he doth more hurt, then he did in Wars; for abroad (say they) hee fought against the common enemy, but at home, he raiseth and foltereth seditions and treasons against Princes. The same do many of you say of *Lesley*, and apply that to him, which our men speak of our *Loyola*.

Quam bello plus pace nocet, & ad otia versus

Crudeles animum vertis ad insidias.

Scotia & in media conscripto milite regnat,

Diraq; (fraterno nomine) bella geris.

But I pray you, as we have followed our General *Ignatius* his command, by yielding up our selves, our wills and judgments *cacâ obedientiâ*, as he did require; so do you with your General, in following his command and directions. And so much rather I require this of you, because I hear, there are *divisions among you*, and partly I believe it, for there must be also *Heresies among you*, that they which are approved may be made manifest. But you may amend this breach, consider wisely, where the division is likeliest to be, and prepare your salve for every mans sore, and your bait for every mans humour. If it be among the Nobility, then extoll and praise what they have done, tell, that all mens eyes are upon them, as the noble reformers of the Land; let them hear of the noble facts of their progenitors, commend perseverance, and shew them what cowardize is, and what infamie will follow to yield to their Prince. Put them in remembrance of that noble sentence of ours,

1 Cor. 11. 18.

Tact. lib. 3. c. 6.

Si nobilis invasus, posset vitam servare fugiendo, non tenetur (si inde infamiam contrahat) fugere, sed hostem occidere potest. If a noble man being invaded, may save his life by flying, yet he is not bound to fly, if he contract infamie thereby, he is rather bound to kill his enemy, much less to yield. Let the women in the streets continue to prefer those young *Dauids* ten times above their Prince, and still pray for them. And if there be any of the Nobility of greater worth, tell them, That the whole business depends upon them, and that you will do all by their direction, and that they shall be made immortal, by recording their acts to posterity to come.

If you fear division in the ministry, it's easie to help that; keep those

those under, who are not zealous in your cause : let them not be acquainted with your mysteries, nor be chosen Commissioners for assemblies : if there be any matter of importance to be commended to the people, send either conjunctly or severally, some zealous Ministers to their Pulpits, to rouse up the multitude, and put the like edge upon such coldrife ministers; and if they become not more zealous, put them in fear of *Deprivation*.

If you fear any division among the Commons, it's likely that some of them have seen the King's extraordinary favour toward them : but you ought to be careful, that they see not the King's Proclamations ; and if any have seen them, let them be persuaded that his Majesties Proclamations have this only end, to divide them, and then to destroy them ; and that all other fair promises shall have no real performances. Be not you behind the King in your promises to them also, and howbeit, you have an hundred thousand pound to take of them, yet be not suddain, but by delaying, put them in hope that you will never exact it : For if you go now to exact it, it will make them repine and grumble, and say, instead of *Salomons* easie yoke, we are oppressed with *Reboboams* heavy burdens, and so make a rupture, and return every man to his tent, and in the end submit themselves to their *Salomon* again. And especially, let the ruling Elders command their ruled Elders, or Ministers, to be diligent in season and out of season, to keep the multitude in their zealous humours, for if they do not incessantly blow upon them, they will be like *mare mortuum*, and never be moved. Cease not to possess them with an evil opinion, of all that opposes themselves to your courses either by word or writing, make them believe that all, that write against your confederacy, are unnatural enemies to their Country, and that it is not against your faction which they do, but against Church and Kingdom ; and suffer no man to deny this to be a National quarrel, or to call it a Faction, and all that refuse to cast in their Lot with you, call them the cursed inhabitants of *Meroz*, that will not help you against the mighty.

And let all that follow their King, be called the *King's faction*, Knox. hist. of Scotland. pag. 264. according to the example of your progenitors, who called all that followed the Queen, a *faction*, which they would punish, as *Traytors* ; whensoever God should put the sword of Justice in their hands, that is, when they should find themselves able to depose the Queen, (as they did) and repress her Subjects. There is another thing which I desire you to remember to try where those

ministers, that have been most opposite to our doctrines and practices, have had their residence in the ministry, that you may place able and zealous men for our cause in those same places, to build up the people which they have destroyed. This work is well begun by you, in bringing *Henderson* from the Countrey, to the Town of *Edinburgh*, *Dickson* to *Glasgow*, and *Rhetorfort* and *Blair* (who could not get liberty to vent our Doctrine elsewhere) to *S. Andrews*. And in particular let them be careful over the students in Colledges, *Quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem testa diu.*

*Tollet. lib. 5.
sep. 37.*

And as for those, who like the men of *Succoth*, and the inhabitants of *Merz*, refused to joyn with you, it's well that you did not take the *Thornes of the Wilderness*, and *Bryers* to teach them, to beat down their houses, this may content them, albeit you restore not their goods, which you took while you plundered their houses. Though they be busie seeking it, yet you are not bound, according to our rules, *Nullus tenetur cum vita periculo, aut fama, rem alterius restituere; sunt enim vita & fama nobili oris ordinis quam res.* No man is bound with the danger of his life or good name to restore another man his goods again; for life and a good name are of a more noble order than goods are: for albeit there be no danger of your life to restore every man his own, yet your name is not safe; for if you restore to each man his goods again, at least it will be a *tacit* acknowledging of your robbery, and that is hurtful to a good name. But some say, that it is a matter of conscience, to restore a mans goods again, which is better then a good name, yea the way to recover a good name: but I refer this to the Schools.

I have some matter of expostulation with you, but I will be loth to do it now, who have begun to congratulate with you for that sweet *Harmony* both in *opinions* and *reasons*, which is of late grown up amongst us. *Rome* was not builded in one day, we must not look that at the first you can receive all our doctrine, though in a short time you have profited much. *Et vos conversi convertite fratres.* Master *Cant* could preach at *Glasgow*, in what need *England* and *Ireland* standeth of the Covenant, where some have their *Ears* cut for the defence of the truth, and are groaning under the tyranny of the whore of *Babel*. And since so it is, you should pity the blindness of those people, who have not a learned man in *England* or *Ireland* to lead them, but the blind leadeth the blind: But I perceive you are not negligent herein, your Ironical preterition

tion is most notable, while you say, *We do not meddle with the Kirks of England or Ireland, but recommend to them the pattern shown on the Mount.* But what pattern of the mount is this I pray you? Is it the Pattern shown by you on *Dunee hill*, called by your Preachers *Mount Zion*, with an Army against the face of your King? if it be so, it's a worthy pattern that requireth imitation. But if the Pattern on the mount, be the *Pattern of your discipline*, you do well herein, to imitate your progenitors: for they were desirous to have *Episcopacy* thrown down in *England* as you are now, or as we are desirous; for their pride is so great, that the least of them says, That they have no more dependence from the Pope, then he from them: That their calling and place is of as great *Power and Authority*, as his is within his *Diocess*, thus limiting the *Universal Bishop*, as if he were only a *Diocesan*. Yea they are not ashamed to say, That all the Bishops are but *equivocally* called Bishops, and *univocally* are the Pope's slaves: for as they have their power and authority from the Pope, so are they tyed to his obedience by oath. *Romano Pontifici veram obedientiam spondeo ac juro.* I promise and swear to give true obedience to the Pope of Rome. *Form. Jura. Bulla Pii 4.* So that as the Bishops of *Apulia* said, so (say they) must all popish Bishops say, *Nos nihil aliud sumus praterquam creatura & mancipia Pontificis.* We are no other thing but the creatures and slaves of the Pope. And since the Pope will be only universal Bishop, and all the rest depending on him, as their Head, they tell our Bishops in the words of Gregory, *Si unus universalis est, restat ut vos episcopi non sitis.* *Carol. Molm. consil. super Concil. Trid. n. 21.* If there be one universal Bishop, it remaineth that you *ep. 70.* are no Bishops. Therefore I say, seeing your Bishops are greater Enemies to our Hierarchy, then your selves are; you shall want no help that we can afford, to have them removed. I have seen your *Gibson's Letter to Coppinger, Hacker's fellow-labourer in England:* Where he saies, *The best of our Ministers are most careful of your estate, and had sent for that effect, a Preacher of our Church this last Summer (1590) of purpose to confer with the best afflicted Ministers of your Church, to lay down a plot, how our Church might best travel for your relief.* But you do as well to send Libels and Informations, as to go in your own persons.

But before I proceed any further either in my Congratulation or Exhortation, I must relate unto you what I heard of that Anticovenantor, of whom I spake lately, when he read, *That you did recommend to the Church of England and Ireland the Pattern on the Mount.*

Answer to the
Marquess of
Hamilton's De-
claration.

„ This (sayes he) brings to my remembrance a pretty Apolo-
 „ gie written by Melancthon. *Vulpecula cauda amissa, reliquis vulpi-*
 „ *bis callide persuasit, ut similiter & ipsa caudas rescarent, ne sola*
 „ *turpis & deformis in suo genere videretur.* A fox having lost her
 „ tail, craftily perswaded the other foxes, that they would like-
 „ wise cut off their tails, lest she her self alone, should seem the
 „ foul and deformed beast of all that kind. Thus is their case
 „ who recommend their pattern to others. But certainly, while
 „ they thus labour to remove *Episcopacy*, as unlawful, and set up
 „ a new discipline as the only lawful, in Christ's Church, they do
 „ differ as much from their first Reformers, as wisemen do from
 „ madmen. For it is certain, that even Calvin who first invented this
 „ discipline, did it not because he judged *Episcopacy* antichristian,
 „ or unlawful; much less did he recommend his discipline as a pat-
 „ tern to others: but it was only meer necessity which moved
 „ him: for if those, who were bishops at the Reformation, would
 „ have forsaken the Pope as their head, and embraced the reform-
 „ ed Religion, their calling had never been called in question, as
 „ appeareth by the words of Calvin to Cardinal Sadolere. *Talem*
 „ *nobis hierarchiam si exhibeant, in qua sic emineant Episcopi, ut*
 „ *Christo subesse non recusent, ut ab illo tanquam unico capite pende-*
 „ *ant, & ad ipsum referantur: in qua sic inter se fraternam societa-*
 „ *tem colant, ut non alio modo, quam ejus veritati sint colligati: tum*
 „ *verò, nullo non anathemate dignos fatear, si qui erunt, qui non eum*
 „ *reverenter, summâq; obedientia observent.* If they do bring unto us
 „ such an *Hierarchy*, wherein the Bishops shall so be preferred, that
 „ they refuse not to submit themselves to Christ, that they also de-
 „ pend upon him as their onely head, and have their relation to
 „ him, in which *Hierarchy* they may so keep brotherly society a-
 „ mong themselves, that they be not otherways knit together,
 „ but by his truth: then surely if there shall be any, that shall
 „ not submit themselves to that *Hierarchy* reverently, and with the
 „ greatest obedience that may be, I confesse there is no kind of curse
 „ whereof they are not worthy. A sore sentence for a covenan-
 „ ter. Beza likewise himself hearing that some did offend at the
 „ innovation of discipline (which necessity put upon them) and
 „ thought that he and his colleagues did set out the same as a pat-
 „ tern for other Churches, to follow, was not a little displeased,
 „ and told that it was never their intention to prescribe such a
 „ discipline, where the old might be kept; he wisheth them to
 „ keep it still. *Fruantur igitur illi qui volunt & poterunt.* There-

Calv. epist.
 ad Card. Sadol.
 1546.

Beza de grad.
 ministr. cap. 23.

„fore let them enjoy Episcopal government who desire and may
 „do it: and sayes in that same place, *Abst ut hunc ordinem teme-*
 „*rè aut superbè reprehendam.* God forbid that I should rashly or
 „proudly reprove that order: and therefore in the 21 chap. of the
 „cited book, having spoken of the tyranny of the *Papish Bishops*
 „did hinder the reformation, he tells us, That he doth neither
 „mean *Protestant Bishops*, nor yet set forth their discipline, as a
 „Pattern to be followed. *Neq; tamen huius tyrannidis omnes, ar-*
 „*chiepiscopos, seu episcopos hodie vocatos, accusamus: qua fuerit e-*
 „*nim hac arrogantia? imò cunctos, sic hodie appellatos (modo sanctis-*
 „*simorum illorum Episcoporum exemplum imitentur, & tam misere*
 „*deformatam domum Dei, ex verbi divini regulâ instaurant)* ut eccle-
 „sia *Christiane fidos pastores, cur non agnoscamus, & omni reverentiâ*
 „*prosequamur? nedum ut (quod falsissime & impudentissime nonnulli*
 „*nobis obijciunt) cuipam usiam ecclesie sequendum nostrum peculiare*
 „*exemplum prescribamus.* And yet we do not accuse all, that are
 „this day called Archbishops or Bishops, of this tyranny: for what
 „arrogancy were that? yea, why should we not acknowledge, and
 „honour with all reverence, all that are this day so called, as the
 „faithful pastors of the Christian Church: so being they would
 „imitate the example of those most holy Bishops in the primitive
 „Church, and reform by the rule of God's word the deformed
 „house of God? much less that we should prescribe to any Church
 „in any place, *our peculiar example to be followed*, which most
 „falsely, and most shamelessly some object unto us. So the authors
 „of the *Augustan Confession* declare ingeniously, That it was not *Augustan. Con-*
 „any dislike at *Episcopal government*, but the cruelty of *Papish Bi-* *sest. Artic. 14.*
 „*shops*, who did by all means hinder the reformation of Religi-
 „on, which did dissolve that government and Canonical Policy,
 „*quam magnopere cupiebamus conservare*, which we earnestly desired
 „to preserve. And therefore, seeing *Papish Bishops* were in place
 „then, and *Protestant Bishops* could not be set in their place, they
 „declared to the World in their Confession, that (notwithstand-
 „ing it was removed) they did approve it, and were so free from
 „having the fault imputed to them, that it did not remain among
 „them; that they were most willing it should be continued, it
 „those *Papish Bishops* would forbear their persecution, and turn
 „*Protestants*, and study to advance the Reformation. For they say,
 „*Hic iterum testatum volumus, nos libenter conservaturos esse ecclesia-* *videm.*
 „*sticam & canonicam politiam, si modo Episcopi desinant in nostras*
 „*Ecclesias seuire. Hac nostra voluntas, & coram Deo, & apud om-*

nes gentes ad omnem posteritatem excusabit nos, ne nobis imputari
 possit, quod episcoporum auctoritas labefacitur. Here again, we
 will have it testified, that we shall willingly keep still the Eccle-
 siastical and Canonical policy, if so be the Bishops will forbear
 to rage against our Churches. This is our will, and it shall ex-
 cuse us before God, among all Nations to all posterity, that it
 cannot be imputed to us, that the authority of Bishops is de-
 cayed. And again, in that same confession they say, *Sape im-*
testati sumus, nos non solam potestatem Ecclesiasticam, quae in Evan-
gelio instituta est, summam pietate venerari, sed etiam Ecclesiasticam
politiam, & gradus in Ecclesia magnopere probare, & quantum in
nobis est, conservare cupere: non detrahimus auctoritatem Episco-
rum, modo non cogant facere contra mandatum Dei. Haec voluntas
liberabit nos coram Deo, & iudicio univ[er]se posteritatis, ne iudice-
mur rei huius schismatis, quod initio excitatum est, injusta damna-
tione doctrinae Lutheri. We have already oft-times testified, That
 we, not only with the greatest Piety that can be, do reverence
 that Ecclesiastical power instituted in the Gospel, but also do
 very much approve the Ecclesiastical Policy, and degrees in the
 Church, and desire to keep it, as much as we can: We do not re-
 fuse the authority of the Bishops, if so be they do not compel us
 to do against the Command of God. This our will shall de-
 liver us before God, and in the judgment of all our posterity,
 that we be not judged guilty of that *Schism*, which at the be-
 ginning was raised by the unjust condemning of the Doctrine
 of Luther. O how far do those Covenanters differ from those
 Reformers! How can they clear themselves before God, the Re-
 formed Churches, and the ages to come, who have made this
 great *Schism*? They not onely have condemned, that which all
 reformed Churches do commend, but also study to hatch the
 Cockatrice egg, and bring forth Serpents, *Schisms* and *Rebelli-*
ons in other calm Churches, who live at peace. Look how far
 these Reformers did tender *Episcopacy*, as much do these Cove-
 nanters hate it: It is not sufficient to them, to have thrust from
 them without any cause, their Bishops, (except it be that the Bi-
 shops have carried themselves to them, as David did to *Adoni-*
jah. And his father did not displease him at any time, in saying,
Why hast thou done so? By which too gentle dealing, they gave
 them occasion to rise up against them) but they themselves must
 be *αλλοιολογισκοποι*, busie Bishops in another mans Diocess: yea,
 be universal Bishops, within the King's Dominions, by their
 „ sensless

" senseless (yet malicious) libels and letters, to his Majesties good
 " Subjects in *England and Ireland*, labouring to produce the
 " like *Disorders* among them, that they should not remain alone
 " filthy and deformed in the Church of God. Howbeit, all
 " good and learned men (even among those, who have not
 " *Episcopal Government*) do declare their dutiful and reverent re-
 " spects to Bishops; yet for the accomplishing of their bad ends,
 " it hath been their cheif labour, first and last, to make Bishops
 " most odious and contemptible to all men.

" Thus *Cant at Glasgow* in his Sermon (because the Bishop of
 " *Glasgow* did dwell in the Castle, near to the Cathedral Church)
 " told the people, That *Satan had his dwelling among them, and*
 " *Antichrist had a nest among them: and cried, pull down, pull*
 " *down Antichrist's nest*, with many other expressions, more wor-
 " thy of the speaker, than of the hearers; there wanted nothing
 " to draw the multitude to the perpetrating of a mischief against
 " that old reverend Father, but that God suffered not any to be a
 " head to the furious multitude.

" Thus they have too obsequiously observed the direction of
 " their Book entitled, *Sions Plea: Where its said, Ministers and* Sions Plea,
pag. 196.
 " *Magistrates must labour, and cause others to labour for an holy ba-*
 " *tred of Prelates, and their brethren, with an holy hatred to dash the*
 " *brains of the Babylonish Prelacie against the stones.* And according
 " to *Luke 19. 27.* But those mine enemies, that would not that I
 " should reign over them, bring hither, and slay them before me. And
 " strike that *Hazael* in the fifth rib. Yea, if Father or Mother stand
 " in the way, away with them. Strike the *Basilisk vein*, for nothing
 " but this will cure the pleurisie of this our state. This is a notable
 " policie, and as well learned by the Covenanters, as taught by
 " their Masters, and have made such proficiency herein, that
 " they stand in more need of a *Bridle*, than of a *Spurr*; they have
 " by lies and calumnies with the changeable multitude so pre-
 " vailed, that they have not so much as any being among them,
 " but as they say, *Have swept the dirt and dust out of God's house,*
 " *and sent them to the land of Nod.* But yet, Thanks be to God,
 " notwithstanding of their throwing stones at them, they have
 " not dashed their brains against the stones, and for *Hazaels* fifth
 " rib, they have only smote a Bishops Coach-horse: And as for
 " this *Basilisk vein*, which they would have stricken, it's of a
 " higher nature, then the killing of Bishops; for it's borrow-
 " ed from the Jesuits, who by that phrase, understand the kil-

Carol. Soriban.

ling of Kings and Princes : Wherefore one of them said, *Erratum valde fuisse in feſto Baribolomai, quod ſc̃la non fu-
erit vena Baſilica, id eſt, quod parctum fuit regi, Na-
varra, & principi Condenti.* It was a great fault, that in
the feaſt of Baribolomew, the Baſilisk vein was not ſtricken, that
is to ſay, that the King of Navarre, and the Prince of Con-
die were let alone. But they have done as much as they can,
to ſtrike at this Baſilisk vein through the Biſhops ſides. For I
remember, when at the beginning of theſe diſorders many did
ask, Why they did make the Biſhops their adverſaries, and
complain upon them, ſince they did never require any thing,
but by warrant of his Majesties authority, whom they ought
to obey ; it was uſually answered, *Some man muſt be whipped,
and rather the Biſhops, then any.* God knows how foul a Com-
menter this might ſuffer. And as for thoſe calumnies, filthy
ballads, which theſe men ſet out to the diſgrace of themſelves,
rather than of thoſe whom they hate ; they deſerve no other
answer, than that of the Prophet. *The vile perſon will ſpeak
villany, and his heart will work iniquity, to praſiſe hypocrifiſe, and
to utter error againſt the Lord, &c.* And in particular, this ſentence
doth juſtly appertain to that vile perſon. *Alexander Sempill*, who
for whoredom, drunkenneſs, and all kind of Licentiousneſs, hath
not a ſecond in Scotland, and now by means of whoriſh women
is brought to a peice of bread, and extreme poverty, having no-
thing left but a decrepit body, an intoxicate brain, and rail-
ing tongue : ſo that I wonder, who could be ſo baſe, as to
lend him their hand to write for him that fooliſh, (but ſediti-
ous) ballad, called the *Biſhops bridles*. And I marvel more, that
the Covenanters have made this pattern of wickedneſs, to be
their fitteſt man to preſent to England and Ireland, their pat-
tern on the Mount : for they print nothing there now without
the approbation of one *Johnſon*, Clerk of their Aſſemblies.
This *A. S.* or *Alexander Sempill* is ſo beaſtly and apiſh, that he
can find no other matter or ſubject for his ballad, but to allude
to one *Rem*'s preaching on Balaams Aſs, which they make to
be the Church of Scotland, that have thrown off the Biſhops,
their riders ; and therefore muſt ſell their bridles. This
Preacher *Rem*, did not put ſhame enough upon that Church,
but this *AS* muſt ſecond him, and continue its ſhame. That
of the Wiſeman is fit for them, *A Whip for the Horſe, a bridle
for the Aſſe, and a rod for the Fool's back.*

„ But since they delight in this comparison, and will save
 „ their Church to be an *Ass*, and the Bishops their Riders; I
 „ shall not displease them so to call it. But let them remember
 „ that the Bishops rode upon this *Ass* meekly, dealing with them,
 „ *not with the rod, but in love, with the spirit of meekness.* But the 1 Cor. 4. 21.
 „ Lay-Bishops have thrown them off, and now ride so *furiously*
 „ like *Jehu*, that we complain with the Psalmist, *Thou hast caused* Psal. 66. 12.
 „ *men to ride over our heads, we went through fire and water: they*
 „ *drive and go forward, and slack not their riding: they study to* 2 Kings 4. 24.
 „ *make her a wild Ass used to the Wilderness, that snuffeth up the* Jer. 2. 24.
 „ *wind at her pleasure, and is so far drawn away in the Wilder-*
 „ *ness, that his Majesty hath taken more pains to find her out,*
 „ *and bring her from her wandering, than Saul did in seeking his* 1 Sam. 9. 3.
 „ *Father's Asses*, he sought his Fathers Asses but three days, but
 „ his Majesty hath sought this *Ass* three Years. There is no
 „ question but she would be found and return, for the *Ass* know- Esa. 1. 3.
 „ *eth her Master's Crib:* but her riders will not suffer her, per-
 „ swading her that his Majesty will miserably handle her: though
 „ they assuredly know themselves, that his Majesty will do no
 „ more harm to her, than the Lion did to the *Ass*, whereon the
 „ seduced Prophet rode, *the Lion did not tear the Ass.* the Scrip- 1 Kings 13. 28.
 „ ture says, but killed the seduced rider. This is the only fear
 „ they have, not for the *Ass*, but for the Riders, who have
 „ justly provoked the *Lions* wrath, as the messenger of death; and
 „ to be buried with the burial of an *Ass*, drawn and cast forth be- Jer. 22. 19.
 „ yond the Gates of Jerusalem. Here the Anticovenanter would
 „ have proceeded, but I not being desirous to trouble my self in
 „ dispute with him, cut him off with your words. The Co- Covenanters
 „ venanters are exhorted not to be moved with remonstrances, were inform. for
 „ they never so specious, but submit themselves obediently to follow their Defensive. §. 4.
 „ leaders, whom God at this time hath largely furnished with courage
 „ and counsel, for the good of his Kirk and Kingdom. But he answered
 „ me, *The Leaders of this people cause them to err, and they that* Esa. 9. 16.
 „ *are led of them, are destroyed.*

But leaving him, I return to my exhortation. If you cannot
 persuade men to your pattern on the Mount, at least labour to pos-
 sess them with the opinions and doctrines, which you have re-
 ceived of us. Especially this is the duty of *Barr* and *Living-*
ston, to water the good seed which they have sown in some of
 the hearts of some of your Countrey-men in the North part of
Ireland: and by their frequent exhortations and letters, to per-
 swade

swade them to grow, and be fruitful in those matters. Especially let them, by *fearful threatnings* of God's Judgments, affright them from taking that *unlawful Oath* which establisheth the King's *Supremacie*, and is urged by my Lord Deputy, (to whom, I confess, his Master's honour is more dear, than the Apple of his eye) so violently, that he will suffer no man to vilipend it, but will have them swear such an Oath, that they shall never take *Arms against their King*, nor protest against him, but to obey his Royal Commands. Whereby thus violently he hath put your Covenant out of credit among the *Scots* there, except you provide some remedy.

I hear that not only *Blair* and *Livingston*, but that *Rbeterfort*, and *Dickson* also, have lent their helping hand, and have written a Learned Refutation of that *Oath* to be taken by the *Scots* there. I am sorry that I did not see it, that I might have increased my Congratulation. Did you ever see the two *Apostolick Briefs*, which our Holy Father *Paulus V.* sent to the Catholics in *England*, that were urged with the *same Oath*, that is pressed upon your Brethren now? Or did you ever read *Bellarmin's* Letter to *Blakwell*? if you did, they have helped you well in that matter, I am sure. *Becanus* tells us the sum of all which the Pope and Cardinal did write. *Uterque negat salvā conscientiā prætori posse hoc juramentum à rege propositum, quia abnegarent fidem Catholicam.* They both deny, that that oath prescribed by the King, can be taken with a safe conscience, because they would deny the Catholic Faith. They say, you say the same, only you add many fearful judgments upon both, the *swallers* and *takers* of the same. And therefore you may say of them that take this oath, as *Becanus* doth, *Hoc faciunt ad extremam pacem & solitiū conservandam, quæ pluris ab illis, quàm fides & religio æstimatur, idèque politici potius quàm Christiani appellandi sunt.* They do this that they may preserve outward peace, which they esteem more than of Faith and Religion; and therefore they ought rather to be called *Politicians* than *Christians*. For no man will grant the King's *Supremacy*, except to *Sacellano*, & quibusdam aliis adulatoribus regis, Except the King's Chaplain (*Bishop Andrews*) and some other *Court Parasites*. And here by the way I must tell you a notable untruth of that *Bishop Andrews*, in his dispute against *Bellarmin*: he holds that the *Paritans* do willingly take the oath of *Supremacy*. But albeit he was πέντε γλῶσσαι, having five tongues, yet with none of his five tongues could he speak true in this, as our *Becanus* proveth from no less than the testimony of

*Becan. dissid.
Angl.*

ibid.

*Becan. refut.
Tortura torti.
cap. 1. parad. 1.*

of his own Master K. James, in his *Basil. Dron.* But I find one *Richardus Thomsonus* in *Elencho refutationis Torturæ torti*, defending *Andrews*, and reconciling him with his Master, by telling, That the King spake of Scots Puritans; and the Bishop, of *English Puritans*. Whether this may satisfie or not, I leave it to a farther inquire.

If the forlorn brother of our Society *Abernethie* hath done our Church any service among you, in the farthering and promoving this your happy return to us; he hath so well deserved, that there is hope for him to be received of us again. Howbeit his crimes were so ugly, that we did exclude him from our Church and Orders; yet sufficient to this man is the punishment inflicted upon him by many. For he hath reconciled himself (as the people of *Gath* feared *David* would do) with your heads and hearts: in enlightning your brain with the knowledg, and your hearts with the love of many principal points of our Doctrine. Exhort him to continue unto the end. *I endeavoured my self to have come unto you, I desire to see you earnestly, and would have come unto you once and again, but Satan bindred me.* 2 Cor. 2. 6.

Though in this my *Congratulatory Epistle*, I have sometimes inserted my counsel and exhortation unto you, let not this displease you, as if I thought you deficient herein, or that you had need of spurs, who run with born-down-head. For all my exhortations are nothing else, but a pleasant repetition of your doings, and a sympathizing expression of our conjunct approbation thereof. So that my recommendation of that to your practice, which you are doing, is so far from insinuating you of negligence, that it is rather a commendation of your actions, according to that of the Poet:

Qui monet in facias, quod jam facis, ipse monendo

Laudat; & bertatu comprobat ipse suo.

Salute all our Friends, and especially at your night-meetings for devotion, salute the Sisters with a holy kiss. To whom you do but your duty, when you acknowledge your cause much obliged unto them, and that in those your *Esthers* and *Judiths* your work had but a small beginning: and when men durst not resist the beginnings, it's wisely observed by you, that *God moved the spirit of those holy Women to scourge the buyers and sellers out of God's house, and not to suffer the same to be polluted with that foul Book of Commons Prayer.* Those holy Matrons who wast themselves with *Fasting*, have deserved so well at your hands, that you should

exhort them, (as Paul did Timothy) to take a little Wine to comfort them: and to encourage them to proceed zealously in your Cause; for they are the weaker vessels, and Wine will strengthen them. Read 1 Esdras, Chap. 3. ver. 21. Where it is said thus, *Wine is exceeding strong, it makes every heart rich, so that a man remembereth neither King nor Governour, and it maketh to speak all things by talents. And when they are in their Cups, they forget their love both to Friends and Brethren, and a little after draw out Swords, &c.* Albeit this be a passage out of Apocrypha, yet your practice sayes it is not false.

Our Women here carry a sinister opinion of your Women, whom they call *Virago's* and *Monsters* of Women, a disgrace to their Sex, Man-like-Women, and a new kind of *Hermaphrodites*; because of their violent and turbulent carriage (as they call it) in abusing all men that are contrary minded, they say,

*Non metunt leges, sed cedit viribus aquum,
Quámque lupi sava plus feritatis habent.*

That is, they fear no Laws, but equity giveth place to force, and they have more savage cruelty in them than the very Wolves. But our Ladies are mistaken, not knowing that this proceeds from Zeal. *Impetus hic, sacra serva mentis habet.* This violence of theirs hath the seeds of a holy mind: And they being free Citizens, ought to have full freedom: their tongues are their own: What Lord can them control? If *Tiberius* when he was railed upon in the City, took it patiently, saying, *In libera civitate oportet linguam esse liberam*: Why should not free Subjects in a free Kingdom, have free tongues, and free hands too? especially of women, when religion is in question. *Gulielmus Postellus* set out a book, which he entituled, *Of the victory of women*: I would have the like done by some of you, especialy by him, who gave his ghostly blessing to those manful women (who shew their valour against their adversaries, in beating them and their books out of God's house) My blessing light upon you all my dear Birds all. Break not off your nocturnal devotions, and assembling together for the better, and not for the worse. But do it more secretly than *Andrew Lesley*, of whom they say, that he forsook *Ireland* to go to the *Covenant*, the first fruits whereof was, to forsake his wife, to joyne himself with an *harlot*. The good old Matron of the holy Sisters of *Edinburgh*, did more cunningly cover her daughter's infirmity of the flesh, who (as she said to her sisters at their meetings) had fallen in a holy fornication with a brother, not out of Lust, but Love: and therefore

therefore decreed, that she should not confess it before the congregation, lest the Gospel should be scandaliz'd, and that it was better to fall in the hands of God, by swearing that she did not know the man, than to fall in the hands of men, by confessing her carnal fact.

We say well to this purpose, *Mentiri in confessione, non semper est peccatum mortale*; To lye in confession, is not ever a mortal sin: but it was a pity, that shortly after she had sworn, her swelling belly belied her; and yet, here the shame and scandal of your devout profession was more than your sin; for that kind of sin is but a weakness and infirmity, and if it be acted for good ends and intentions, it is no sin at all. Therefore, it's well said by a Father of our Society, *Si quis pollutionem desideraret ob bonum finem, scilicet san-*
nitatem, vel ad levandas tentationes quibus interdum affligitur, non est
peccatum. If any desire, &c.

*Tollet lib. 3.
cap. 9.*

*Idem lib.
cap. 13.*

for a good end, to wit, for their health; or to put away the temptations, wherewith they are troubled all the day long, it's not a sin. And therefore it's thought when those holy Sisters are longest out at their night-devotions, they are much amended in their health the next day. And we do also hold, * *Adulterium inter minora crimina censendum esse*, That Adultery is to be esteemed among the smaller crimes; † & esse a-
liquam honestam fornicationem, and that there is some honest fornication. Or (as that Matron called it) *holy fornication*.

* *De judiciis l.
2. Dicit. 6.
cap. Et Clerici.
† Caus. 21. q. 1.
1. cap. Hac va-
riatione.*

But this is very ominous which I hear, that many husbands will not suffer their wives to frequent those night-meetings as they were wont to do. That is a fearful presage, that that order and society shall be cryed down, except they get it confirmed by assembly. For we had a Society of Sisters called, *Congregatio Jesuitissarum*, suppressed by our holy Father Pope Urban the 8, anno 1631.

Quia novum ordinem instituerunt assumpto Jesuitissarum nomine, ---
qua per multa opera sexus, ingenii imbecillitati, & modestia muliebri,
virginali praesertim pudori minimè convenientia, attentarunt & exercue-
runt. Because they did institute a new order, assuming the name of Jesuitesses, who have attempted and exercised many Works, which do not become the weakness of their sex and ingeny, nor the modesty of women, and especially most unbeseeming virginal shamefastness. The like case may befall your society, if it be not prevented: if your Leckie and his Collegues be not authorized, it's to be feared that the Society of those Sisters shall get a downfall.

*Bulla Urban.
Pape 8. Romae
edita. 1631.*

I have heard of the great controversie between him and some ministers of *Sterling-shire*. and that the matter was debated in your assembly,

assembly, but what was done, I was not fully informed ; only I heard of your moderation, that you thought it not fit, to discharge his new society by *act* of assembly, but by way of *Council* : but he rejects your counsel, and though he hath not an *ordinary calling*, yet he tels that he hath an *extraordinary calling* from God, and bids you, *behold it in the fruits of his labours.*

But I am most of all afraid for our selves, though we have an ordinary calling and authority for our *order*. We are so hated both by friend and foe, at home and abroad, that we are daily perplexed, especially since the adnulling of the *Jesuitissae* order : upon which some Poet (by way of prophetic, as is thought) made these verses, with a *fiat*.

Famineus sexus sociis immixtus Jesu

Transcendit sexus munia faminei.

Non tulit hanc labem URBANI vigilantia Pape,

Supersit Sociis, mox Sociisq; premet.

Prov. 8. 15.

2 Tim. 4. 14.

Psal. 49. 14.

We have suffered already great hurt in divers places, being hunted to and fro, as if we were Malefactors. And I doubt not but you know how weak we are in France, we dare not deny the King of France his *Supremacy*, and must acknowledge his Dominion to be independent, in respect of men, and that the King holds his Kingdome by virtue of, *Per me reges regnant, by me Kings reign.* The Doctors of the University of Paris have done us much evil, the Lord reward them according to their works. They have condemned some of the works of our Father Becanus in their Universities, and have published the same to the World, whether the Pope would or no ; and are also become *Court-Parasites*. And their chief labour is by their doctrine in contradiction to you and us, to corrupt all, especially Noblemens children, that come to their Universities : and at least once a year, make every one of them under their hands, to profess the King's independent power and authority. Therefore now our holy *League* is wholly dead, and death feeds upon it in the grave, and we are become vile, and herein are turned *Saduceans*, to deny the resurrection of our holy *League*, or any such *insurrection*, so long as such Doctors (as the *Sorbonists*) shall thus infect the land, and make noble and ignoble such *Court Parasites*. But your case is far better than ours at this time : for you have put away from your Universities such as withstood you, and have placed such men in your Universities of *Glasgow* and *S. Andrews* and *Edinburgh*, who will cause the Schollars to drink such a full draught of our doctrine, that they shall vomit out all which

which your adversaries taught them. We are not so happy, our enemies prevail daily against us. But yours are dying, especially the Archbishop of *S. Andrews*, to whom we wished no better death, nor more honourable burial, then that Martyr and brother of our Society, *John Ogleby*, got, whom he caused to be hanged at the Cross of *Glasgow*, because he stood to the defence of our doctrine, which he brought within the compass of *Treason*, by the laws of your kingdom which I pray you to abrogate. *D. Baron* that great enemy of ours, is also dead (as they say) in persecution. At this we do both rejoyce, as if we had found a great spoil.

We had also great credit (according to our hearts desire) at *Constantinople* and among the *Galatians*, and divers parts in the East, but by the means of the King of Great Britain, &c. his Ambassador, and *Cyillus* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, (who is of the Religion of the Church of *England*, and disclaims the Pope's Jurisdiction even as the Bishops of *England* do.) We are all banished the Turks bounds, and a Shipfull of us was sent home to *Italy* from *Constantinople*. Since we cannot get liberty to remain in the East, we purpose to come to you in the West, where there is neither Patriarch nor Bishop to trouble us, as *Cyillus* did at *Constantinople*.

But if King *Charles* follow the direction of his Father King *James* our common Enemy, your case will be little better than ours was at *Constantinople*. For after he hath directed his Son to beware of *Puritans*, as most pestilent fellows, both in Church and Policy, whom neither the King's favours and bounty, nor their own promises and oaths can make Faithful and Loyal; but being above measure arrogant, they belch out nothing but *Calumnies* and *Seditious*, and contrary to the Word of God follow their own dreams and conceits, as the only rule of their Conscience, he sayes most pathetically, *Testor illum magnam Deum (nec testamentum condenti fas est* Basilic. Dorom. *mentiri) nunquam inter montanos aut limitaneos nostros latrones, majorem iniquitatem, aut perfidiam reperiri posse. quam inter hos phariseos nobiliores: nec patere, si pacate vivere decreveris, ut hi eadem tecum patria fruantur, nisi sorte patientia experienda ergo, ut Socrates vixit cum Xanthippe.* p. 148.
I take the great God to witness, as if I were making my testament (and it is not lawful for him that maketh a testament to lye) that there can never be more unthankfulness, or perfidiousness found among our High-land and bordering robbers, then among those brain-sick villains. Neither do thou suffer them to enjoy that same country with thee, if thou purpose to live.

live peaceably, unless perchance, for the exercise of thy patience, as *Socrates* lived with *Xantippe*.

Gen. 15. 12.

This is a dreadful advice, and our case is so miserable, that it is our lot and destiny to be like *Ishmael*, the wild man, whose hands were against every man, and every man's hands against him. But let us not be dismayed, nor our hearts melt, nor our hands be faint; but let us joyn hand in hand together, (*Virtus unita fortior.*) And we shall speak with the enemy in the gate. And the righteous shall be delivered out of trouble, and the wicked shall come in his stead, Prov. 11. 8.

I have many other things to write to you, which I will delay till I have the opportunity to write a second Epistle, which shall be, so soon as I hear what fruits this first Epistle shall produce: Which, I pray you cause to be printed among you for your common good, because I could not get many copies sent to you, being so far from you beyond sea. If AS's *Bridles* were thought worthy to be printed by your authority, in contempt of the Bishops; why may not this my Epistle be printed, for the edification of your Society? Let it not offend you that I have not railed in this my Epistle against authority in Church and policy: for our Society hath been so oft reproved for railing, that I do now begin to forbear it, for the honour of our Order: neither will we permit infamous Pasquils longer to come forth; and it were good that you did so too, and let us speak home to the purpose, convincing our adversaries with evident reasons; and make their errors and heresies known to the world, rather then to vent our spleen against them with calumnes. This doth but open the mouth of our adversaries; but that will stop it: this makes disgrace return upon our selves, but the other, makes us gracious. If we rail, when we should reason, we get no answer, but *in repet te Dominus*. But when we reason, without railing; we beget in them *dissentendi pudorem & veritatis timorem*. A bashfulness to dissent from us, and a reverence of the truth; which in time, will bring forth a profession of it.

Farewell.

From my study at *Basileopolis*
The first of January,
1640.

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TRADE MARK

